THE

SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS

Translated by various Sanskrit Scholars

EDITED BY

MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S. (*Retired*)

VOL. XIII

THE SUKRANÎTI

PUBLISHED BY

SUDHINDRANÂTHA VASU

FROM THE PÂṆINI OFFICE, BHUVANEŚWARI ÂŚRAMA, BAHADURGANJ,

Allahabad

PRINTED BY APURVA KRISHNA BOSE, AT THE INDIAN PRESS,

1914

THE SUKRANÎTI

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WITH AN INDEX

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THE PÂṆINI OFFICE, BHUVANEŚWARI ÂŚRAMA, BAHADURGANJ,

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1914

DEDICATED

TO THE SACRED MEMORY OF

THE PHILANTHROPIST AND EDUCATIONAL MISSIONARY,

PANDIT ISWARACHANDRA VIDYASAGARA,

ONE OF THE PROMOTERS AND MAKERS OF BENGALI LITERATURE,

THE PIONEER AND POPULARISER OF SANSKRIT LEARNING

AND THE FATHER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

IN MODERN INDIA.

CONTENTS.

FOREWORD.

The translation of *Sukraniti* is based on the text edited by Dr. Gustav Oppert for Madras Government in 1882.

An Introduction to this translation forms Volume XVI of *The Sacred Books of the Hindus Series* and is called "The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology." The discussion of date and *locale* of the treatise is among other topics the subject-matter of that work, of which the table of contents under main headings is given below :

BOOK I.—NON-POLITICAL.

BOOK II.—POLITICAL.

These Data are collected from an analytical study of the facts and ideas embodied in Sukranîti, and have been placed as far as possible in their proper historical perspective by comparison with the landmarks of Indian and European thought. The first six chapters of Book I are already out together with five valuable appendices, kindly contributed by Dr. Brajendranâtha Seal, M.A., Ph. D., King George V Professor of Philosophy in the University of

Calcutta, dealing with the scientific concepts of the Hindus regarding Plants and Plant Life, the classification of Animals, the Nervous System of the Tantras, Vital Force, Heredity, Mechanics and Acoustics.

I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Pandit Yogendranâtha Tarka-Sâṃkhya-Vedântatirtha of Susung (Mymensingh), with whom I read portions of Sukranîti, Râja-tarangiṇî, some of the Purâṇas, and other Sanskrit works.

I have also to thank Kumar Narendra Nâth Law M.A. B.L., author of *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* (based on the Arthasâstra of Kautilya) for the labour he has kindly undergone in preparing the Index to this translation.

Nor must I omit to express my gratefulness to Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.), the learned editor of the Series, and Prof. Râdhâkumud Mookerji, M.A., Premchand Roychand Scholar, author of *A History of Indian Shipping*, from whom, among others, I have derived help in manifold ways during a period of ill-health and distraction in the midst of which the translation was finished.

Finally, I have to add that the work is humbly dedicated to Pandit Iśwara Chandra Vidyâsâgara, the great Indian Educator of the 19th century.

April, 1914. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

SUKRA-NITI

OR

SUKRÂCHÂRYYA'S SYSTEM OF MORALS.

N.B.—References are to lines and not to ślokas.

CHAPTER I.

THE DUTIES OF PRINCES.

[1] 1—3. Having saluted and duly worshipped the Stay of the Universe, the Cause of the origin, maintenance and destruction (of the Creation), Śukrâchâryya, the offspring of Bhṛigu, questioned with respectful decorum by Pûrvadevas or Asuras, his disciples, gave them a discourse on the essence of morals in the logical order.

[2] 4—5. For the good of men Brahmá, the self-created Lord, had spoken that treatise on morals which contained 100 lakhs, *i.e.*, 10 million ślokas.

[3] 5—7. By a process of selection, the essence of that Niti Śâstra, which was an extensive argumentative thesis, has been compiled in an abridged form by Vaśiṣṭha and others like myself for the increase of prosperity of rulers of the earth and of others whose life is of short span.

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[1] The book is described as having its origin in a lecture by a professor] to his disciples.

पूर्वदेवैः—Bṛibaspati's disciples are the *devas.* नीतिसारं—Śukra delivers the सारं *i.e.*, the essence or compendium, not the whole treatise. The other reading is नीतिशास्त्रं which makes Śukra, the author of the whole thing. But that is not to the point.

[2] The *end* of Nîti Śâstra, as conceived by its first propounder, is here mentioned as being लोकहित or usefulness to human beings. He believed that the precepts of Niti would conduce to social well-being.

[3] Here is an indication that Śukra was only one of the many âchâryas who undertook the synoptical editions of the vast work of Brahmâ.

तर्कविस्तृतं—Extensive because of full logical discussion.

अल्पायुः—The abridgment was called for by the fact that art is long and life is short.

भूभृदाद्यर्थं—Princes are specially mentioned here as those to whom Nîti Śâstra was considered to be useful.

[1] 8-9. Other Śâstras treat of certain specialised departments of human activity (and hence can be useful only in limited cases) whereas Nîti Śâstra is useful to all and in all cases and is the means for the preservation of human society.

[2] 10-11. As Nîti Śâstra is considered to be the spring of virtue, wealth, enjoyment and salvation, the ruler should ever carefully peruse it.

[3] 12-13. By knowing which, rulers can be victorious over foes, affectionate and conciliatory towards subjects and well up in the arts of statecraft.

[4] 14-17. Is not the knowledge of words and their meanings acquired without the study of *Grammar*? Cannot the knowledge of material substances be acquired without *logical* discussions? Cannot the rituals, practices

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[1] The scope and province of Nîti Śâstra are here distinguished from those of ordinary Śâstras. **क्रियैकदेशबोधीनि**—they have for their subject matter, *i.e.*, treat of **बोधि** one aspect **एकदेश** of human affairs. This refers to the principle of the division of labour among scientists and scholars and the necessary specialisation and differentiation of the sciences. Division of labour has both its advantages and disadvantages ; and so it is here mentioned that the utility of ordinary specialised sciences is limited, their horizon being narrow.

सर्वोपजीवकं—Nîti Śâstra is thus defined as a synthetic, comprehensive and generalised science (or rather art) of society, equivalent to Sociology in its wide sense, and hence should be considered equivalent to neither *Ethics* nor *a treatise on Polity*, but to *a system of morals, (social, economic and political)*. The scope of this science or art must be wide enough in order that it may offer practical advice as to social well-being. It is, in fact, a recognised principle in modern times that neither *Public finance*, nor *Economics*, nor *Political Science*, by itself, is competent to be a guide on the art of living.

[2] Nîti Śâstra is specially useful to princes for they hold in their hands the destiny of the peoples, and hence the learning that is calculated to promote human happiness has to be carefully mastered by them.

[3] Three uses of Nîti Śâstra are here mentioned and these indicate three aspects of social life, and hence three branches of the science. In the first place, this science or art can dictate policies about enemies, friends and neutrals, and advise international measures. In the second place, it can suggest the arts of winning over the hearts of the subjects and perform the work of psychology and ethics by studying human interests and motives as well as the ways of dealing with men. In the third place, it offers lessons on diplomacy and political activities in general by which one can be an able pilot of the ship of state.

[4] Uselessness and comparative insignificance of other sciences are here described. In praising the utility of Nîti Śâstra, the truths of which he is going to propound, the author disparages the four sciences mentioned as being of no practical service to mankind. For, a language can be learnt even by dispensing with its grammar and rules of Syntax ; Truth about a subject can be arrived at even without troubling oneself with syllogistic trains of reasoning. So also to understand the rites and ceremonies attending a religious worship one need not study the rules laid down by Jaimini, nor has one to master the subtle philosophy about the Supreme Being and the transcendental truths about the human soul in order to understand and feel the nothingness of the world and its affairs.

and ceremonies (*i.e.*, the practical part of religion or Karmakânda) be known without Mimâṃsâ philosophy (*i.e.*, the *P û r v a M î m â ṃ s â* of Jaimini)? Cannot the frailty and destructibility of material body (and earthly possessions) be realised without the Vedânta philosophy (*i.e.*, the *Uttara Mîmâṃsâ* of Vyâsa, which treats of the eternal verities of the universe)?

[1] 18-19. These Sciences, moreover, treat only of the topics specially relegated to each (and give truths about them only); and hence are always cared for and mastered by such persons only as have need for those teachings (*i.e.*, whose life and occupation require a knowledge of those truths).

[2] 20-22. Are these sciences of any avail to persons following their ordinary affairs or avocations (vyâbahâris) in supplying them with skill and intelligence? But on the other hand without Nîti or the system of moral philosophy the stability of no man's affairs can be maintained. Just as without food the physical body of men cannot be maintained and preserved.

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[1] In ll. 14-17 the author has said that Grammar, Logic, Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ and Vedânta may well be dispensed with by men as they are of no practical utility and that the world would not be any the poorer if these Śâstras did not exist. A further ground of their disparagement is here mentioned (18-19). It is the fact that even if they have some sort of usefulness their usefulness is very limited, these sciences being adapted to special purposes, and not to the universal interests of man *as man*.

Thus there are men who need have no concern with languages or the correct methods of discussion, whose affairs in this world do not demand of them a knowledge of the Karma Kâṇḍa of the Vedas or of the highest truths of the universe. Such men would go on very well without the Sciences that deal with these topics, and are certainly not any the richer and happier for their existence.

[It is implied here that Nîti Śâstra is useful to all men and in all his concerns, and cannot in any way be neglected by man as a social animal; for man as man cannot do without those precepts which this Śâstra offers, whereas he can do many things and live in the world in many ways besides being a linguist or a logician, a priest or a philosopher, in which capacities only he need learn the Śâstras mentioned.]

स्व स्वाभिमत—its own special subject तत्तन्मतानुगैः—By such as, are अनुग *i. e.*, have to be follow the मत or teachings of each.

[2] The word व्यवहार has various meanings and is a technical term in jurisprudence. Here it denotes ordinary business, profession, occupation, &c.

These lines develop further the idea expressed above that man as an ordinary social and economic being cannot do without Nîti Śâstra, whereas he need not necessarily take the help of the other sciences. The universal occupations of man (सर्वलोकव्यवहार), the natural, fundamental and essential characteristics of human beings indispensably require for their स्थिति, *i.e.*, maintenance and order the precepts of Nîti Śâstra which is the most general and comprehensive human science.

Nîti Śâstra is the very food of the social organism, its precepts supplying blood to, and helping to form the flesh of, the human society. Like food supplying the primal wants of physical life, it ministers to the fundamental interests of social existence.

[1] 23-24. Nîti Śâstra conduces to the desires and interests of all and hence is respected and followed by all. It is also indispensable to the prince since he is the lord of all men and things.

[2] 25-26. Just as in the case of the sick persons who take unprescribed food (अपथ्य) the diseases come immediately and do not delay in manifesting themselves, so also in the case of the princes who are unschooled in the principles of Nîti Śâstra, the enemies make their appearance at once and do not delay in declaring themselves.

27-28. The two primary functions of the king are protection of subjects and constant punishment of offenders; these two cannot be achieved without Nîti Śâstra.

29-30. The absence of Nîti Śâstra is always dangerous to a king like a vessel which leaks. It multiplies and satisfies enemies and causes the diminution of strength and efficiency.

[3] 31-32. The man who by severing obedience to Nîti becomes independent (and follows his own inclinations without reference to Nîti) has misery for his lot. Service to a lord in an independent way (*i.e.*, without following Nîti) is like licking the keen edge of the sword.

33-34. The king who follows Nîti is well-respected, but the king who does not follow it is not honoured. Where there are both Nîti and might there flourishes all-round prosperity.

[4] 35-36. In order that the whole State may be productive of good and comforts to the people without effort, Nîti must be maintained and followed by the king for his own interests.

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[1] Having discussed the comparative merits of the several sciences, the author is describing the universal utility of Nîti Śâstra and dilating on its special importance to the monarch. Morals have to be studied not only by the ordinary men of the world (व्यवहारि) for their common socio-economic interests but also and specially by the statesmen and politicians who are the guardians of the people. Nîti Śâstra is thus the science regulating social life, economic life and political life, in short, all the departments of human activity.

[2] Nîti Śâstra tutors kings to be always on their guard by keeping them well-informed of International Politics, and thus prevents the inroads of destroyers on the political organism.

[3] In ll. 29-30 the author has described the evil effects to a king of not following Nîti, *viz.*, that the state is jeopardised both externally and internally and totters to its fall. Here is described the evil effect to the subject of being स्वतन्त्र *i.e.*, independent (of Nîti), *viz.*, that he meets with misery and punishment.

[4] Peace and prosperity of the State can grow *as a matter of course* only if the relations between rulers and subjects, subjects and subjects, and foreign affairs are well administered according to the precepts of Nîti Śâstra ; and these certainly promote the ruler's own interests आत्महित. It is his self-interest to advance social well-being and the happiness of the subjects and therefore to follow Nîti. अप्रेरित हित un-worked for (spontaneous), natural benefits, *i.e.*, advantages that come of themselves.

[1] 37-38. Of the prince who does not follow Nîti the kingdom is weakened, the army is inefficient, and the civil service is disorganised; other elements of the State get topsy-turvy, in short, evils prevail everywhere.

[2] 39-40. The king is the ruler, protector, and benefactor of the people and acquires his strength by penance. And he is the lord of this earth because of his deeds in the previous births as well as of penance.

[3] 41-42. Time is divided into several periods, epochs or ages according, in the first place, (to the atmospheric conditions, *e.g.*, moisture and temperature, *i.e.*,) to rains, cold and heat and (to the astronomical conditions, *e.g.*) to the movements, shape and nature of the planets; and in the second place, to the deeds and activities of men, whether beneficial or hurtful, and great or small.

[4] 43-44. The king is the cause of the setting on foot of the customs, usages and movements and hence is the cause or maker of time

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[1] There are सप्त अङ्ग or seven factors of the State:—(1) Sovereignty स्वामी (2) Ministers and officers अमात्य (3) Friends, सुहृत् (4) Treasure, कोष (5) Kingdom राष्ट्र (6) Fort दुर्ग (7) The Army बल. Each of these factors becomes weak and inefficient भिन्नं and there is the stamp of अकौशल्यं (*i.e.*, absence of good and prosperity) on the whole State when the ruler is not well up in Nîti. It is proficiency in Nîti that maintains each department in its proper place and contributes to the order and progress of the body politic. In these lines that aspect of Nîti Sâstra is implied which is equivalent to that branch of the art of politics by which the internal constitution of the State is regulated.

[2] तपसा तेज आदत्ते He gets the तेजः or powers (of ruling, protecting and doing good to the people) through his तपः or penance. These two lines have no connexion with the importance of Nîti Sâstra to the king described above or with what follows about time and its effects.

[3] Measurements of time are here described as being twofold:—(1) Physical, according to (*a*) the seasons and (*b*) the rotations and revolutions in the Solar System which bring in days, nights, months and years. (2) Social or human, *i.e.*, historical, according to the events and movements in man's social life, *e.g.*, the age of Asoka, the epoch of the Reformation, &c.

आचारैः according to the practices, movements, customs, and usages, &c.—all those, in short, which mark what has been called 'the spirit of the age.'

[4] The author here discusses the question as to whether time is more important than man in regulating the affairs of the world. He takes for granted the doctrine that man is responsible for his धर्म्म and therefore must be a voluntary agent, regulating his own work by his own initiative and not at the will of other agents, *e.g.*, time. And, therefore, the common excuse that it is the spirit of the age, the कालधर्म्म that has done such and such things falls to the ground. It is rather advanced here that man is the maker of his age. The spirit of the age is what is created by the king's activities.

In describing the superiority of the king over time the author propounds a very important truth that man is the architect of his own fate. The line of arguments in

(*i.e.*, the creator of epochs). If the age or time were the cause (of usages and activities) there could be no virtue in the actors.

[1] 45-47. Through fear of the punishment meted out by the king, each man gets into the habit of following his own dharma or duty. The person who practises his own duty (and sticks to it) can become powerful and influential in this world. Without strict adherence to one's own walk in life there can be no happiness. Practising one's own duty is the paramount penance.

48-49. Even the gods minister to the wants of him by whom this practice of one's own duty is increased among men. What to say of the human beings?

[2] 50-51. The king should make the subjects acquire the habits of performing their duties by the use of his terrible sceptre. And he himself should practise his own religion, or his influence will be on the wane.

[3] 52-54. From the very moment a man attains the position of a king through skill, might or valour, no matter whether he is properly

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ll. 41-44 is as follows: The आचार makes the epochs of time, and the king makes the आचार, therefore, the king is the maker of काल or time.

From l. 43 it would appear that the author recognises the second of the above measurements of time, *i.e.*, Historical Division according to आचार as the primary standard of time and considers the Physical division to be within and subsidiary to it. Thus time should be reckoned not by centuries, years, months, days, &c., but calculated according to the epochmaking activities of kings. Historical movements are, in his opinion, the real basis of calculation with regard to time.

[1] The importance of the king and his authority is here brought out by the fact that it is his sceptre that keeps each individual subject to the performance of his own duty, and thus peoples the world with really able and happy inhabitants. For the strict observance of one's own avocations and the religious performance of one's own duties in life are the great promoters of human efficiency and happiness.

स्वधर्म One's own dharma or duty. These lines contain a praise of the celebrated doctrines of Personal Religion and Individual Morality (as opposed to those of Universal religion and Absolute morality) which form the bedrock of Hindu Sociology, and suggest the theory of अधिकारिभेद or Divisions of menaccording to their Fitness for the enjoyment of Rights on which the caste system is founded. This is the most fundamental maxim of Hindu social polity that every individual has his own religion and duty, and that religion and duty vary with the position, attainments and capabilities of individuals. This philosophy of the relativity of the duties of man to his position in society is eloquently taught by Śrî Kṛiṣṇa to Arjuna in the Gitâ.

[2] The king's स्वधर्म or duty is to make the subjects स्वधर्म निरत *i.e.*, obedient to their own duties. If the king fails in his own duty, the subjects would go astray, each from his own work in life. And this would bring in misery and disorder upon the State. Hence the तेजः क्षय or diminution of influence and importance.

[3] The responsibility of the king to perform his स्वधर्म by enforcing the practice of स्वधर्म among his subjects and to protect them according to the rules of Nîti Śâstra begins from the very moment of his assumption of the royal position.

anointed and duly installed or not, he should begin to rule his subjects according to Nîti, being always above board and ever the holder of the sceptre.

[1] 55-56. Of the intelligent man even the small wealth can daily increase. And even lower animals can be subdued through heroism, morality, might and wealth.

[2] 57-58. There are three kinds of penance, *sâtvika*, *râjasika* and *tâmasa*. The king has his character according to the penance he often performs.

59-62. The king who is constant to his own duty and is the protector of his subjects, who performs all the sacrifices and conquers his enemies, and who is charitable, forbearing and valorous, has no attachment to the things of enjoyment and is dispassionate, is called *sâtvika* and attains salvation at death.

63. The king who has the opposite characteristics is *tâmasa* and gets hell at death.

64-8. The miserable king who is not compassionate and is mad thrôugh passions, who is envious and untruthful, who has vanity, cupidity and attachment for enjoyable things, who practises deceit and villany, who is not the same or uniform in thought, speech and action, who is fond of picking up quarrels and associates himself with the lower classes, who is independent of, and does not obey, Nîti, and who is of an intriguing disposition, is called *râjasa* and gets the condition of lower animals or immovable things after death.

69-70. The *sâtvika* king enjoys the blessings (?) of the gods, the *râjasika* those of the men, the *tâmasa* of the demons. Mind should hence be devoted to *satva*.

हुडथा By artifice or by force or by heroism and not by the ordinary rule of succession. Śukrâchâryya is not a believer in the theory that 'necessity has no law' but maintains that in extraordinary cases also his Śâstra must be followed. Nîti Śâstra is unrelenting and extremely rigid in its precepts which cannot be relaxed or compromised even in revolutionary times, *e.g.*, when a throne falls vacant and is occupied by an usurper by hook or by crook. The usurper must not wait to have his claim formally recognised and his position well secured; but as soon as he gets the reins of government he must act upon the rules of Nîti like the legally recognised ruler of normal States.

As soon as a revolution is effected, the revolutionists must display their political ability by organising the administration and establishing security and order in the State. Śukranîti is here anticipating the sense of political morality manifested in modern times.

[1] Some of the virtues of a king and their effects. The two lines, however, have no connexion with the praise of स्वधर्म above or with what follows.

[2] There are three classes of kings according to their nature and characteristics.

71. Human birth ensues through the mixture of *satva* with *tamas*.

[1] 72. The men of the world have their luck and character according to the nature of the penance they adopt.

[2] 73-74. Man's work is the cause of his good or bad luck (prosperity or adversity). Even that which is called *prâktana* (*i.e.*, comes from previous birth) is really man's own work. Who can ever be without work?

[3] 75-76. Not by birth are the Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, Śûdra, and Mlechchha separated, but by virtues and works.

[4] 77-78. Are all descended from Brahmâ to be called Brâhmaṇa? Neither through colour nor through ancestors can the spirit, worthy of a Brâhmaṇa, be generated.

79-80. The Brâhmaṇa is so called because of his virtues, *e. g.*, he is habitually a worshipper of the gods with knowledge, practices and prayers, and he is peaceful, restrained and kind.

81-82. The man who can protect men, who is valorous, restrained and powerful, and who is the punisher of the wicked is called Kshatriya.

83-84. Those who are experts in sales and purchases, who ever live by commerce, who are tenders of cattle and who cultivate lands are called Vaiśyas in this world.

85-86. Those men of the lower order who are servants and followers of the twice-born, who are bold, peaceful and have mastered their senses, and who are drivers of the plough, drawers of wood and grass are called Śûdras.

87-88. Those who have deserted practising their own duties, who are unkind and troublesome to others, and who are very excitable, envious and foolish are Mlechchhas.

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[1] There are three classes of men according to their nature and characteristics.

[2] The author has been discussing the classes of rulers and of men generally according to their characteristics which he attributes to the penances they perform. This idea about the penances leads to the theory of work as determining man's future.

प्राक्तनमपि Men might say that destiny is determined by previous birth and not by one's कर्म or work. But this is refuted by the statement that this प्राक्तन is, after all, nothing but कर्म.

[3] The praise of work introduces gradually a new basis and interpretation of the caste system.

[4] Here is an application of the theory of castes according to merits and qualifications in the case of the Brâhmaṇa. The question is asked—who is to be called a Brâhmaṇa? The answer is—not necessarily the son of a Brâhmaṇa, nor the man with certain colour-characteristic.

Having discarded the ordinary tests of birth and colour as determining the castes, Śukrâchâryya in ll. 75-85 describes the new test of merits and occupations and enumerates the various qualities of each caste.

[1] 89-90. According to the effects of work in previous births the mind of men is inclined to virtues or vices. It is not possible to do otherwise.

[2] 91-92. The intellectual disposition is generated according as the fruits of work make their appearance. The means and instrumentalities used also are such as are adapted to the predetermined Fate.

[3] 93-94. It is sure that everything happens under the influence of Prâk-karma. Hence advice suggesting commissions and omissions is useless.

[4] 95-96. Men who are wise and whose character deserves praise, greatly respect Pauruṣa or Energy; whereas the weaklings who are unable to exercise energy, to exert themselves, worship Daiva or Fate.

[5] 97-98. Of course, everything in this world is founded on both Fate and self-exertion, and this latter is divided into two classes, that done in a previous birth, and that done in this.

[6] 99-100. The strong is always the enemy of the weak. And the discrimination between the strong and the weak is made by seeing the results, not otherwise.

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[1] प्राक् कर्मफल भोगार्ह befitting अर्ह the enjoyment भोग of the fruits of previous deeds.

This treatise in praising कर्म or work as the sole factor of destiny is very particular about the work done in past lives whose effects are transmitted through successive births.

[2] The author is discussing if there is any principle governing man's course of life in this world or if the *ends* and *means* adopted by him are controlled by chance. By his theory of प्राक् कर्म he establishes the truth that previous lives determine some sort of a destiny, the कर्मफलोदय, manifestation of the effects of work and the भवितव्यता future link for men in succeeding births; so that in these births his intelligence and ways and means of action very easily and spontaneously arrange themselves. These things are pre-ordained, but not by an impersonal agent like Fate or by blind chance.

[3] कार्य्याकार्यप्रबोधका which explain and point out what are to be done and what are not to be done.

[4] Śukrâchâryya refers to the celebrated controversy between दैव and पुरुषकार, himself advocates the latter and disparages the former. He says the controversy resolves itself ultimately into that between weak and able men.

[5] The arguments in ll. 88-98 amount to this. Life in this world is regulated by three things—(*a*) दैव or Fate and (*b*) कर्म (पुरुषकार) or work, which again is divided into two classes—(*i*) प्राक् or done in previous life and (*ii*) इहार्जितं or achieved in this life. Of these three factors, Fate is resorted to and accused by weak and foolish people, whereas able men do not wait for the decree of Fate but make their destiny in this life and in the next by their own efforts and energisings.

[6] Of course, if there is a struggle for existence, the fitter and more powerful can be known only by their survival.

[1]101-2. The achievement of results is not experienced by the direct process (*i.e.*, immediately in this world). For that is the cause of Prâk-karma (constitutes Prák-karma and hence is visible in the next life).

[2]103-5. If sometimes great results ensue out of even small activities that is due to *prâktana*, *i.e.*, work done in a previous life. Some maintain that it is due to the earlier works in this life.

105. The *pauruṣa* of men is born of activities in this life.

106. It is possible to protect the lamp with its wick and oil from the wind with great care.

[3]107-8. If it is possible to have remedies to the certain destinies it is good to discard the evils by dint of intelligence and might.

[4]109-10. The prince should recognise three kinds of Fate, *viz.*, light, moderate and great, according to the favourable or unfavourable consequence.

[5]111-13. Fate was unfavourable to Râvana and Bhiṣma when the one met with discomfiture from one monkey on the occasion of *Banabhanga*, and the other from a single man at *Gograha* (on the occasion of the capture of cattle). Fate was certainly favourabla to Râghava and Arjuna.

114-15. When Fate is favourable, even small exertions achieve good results. But when it is unfavourable, great efforts may be productive of no good. Thus both Bali and Hariśchandra were bound by their charity.

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[1] Whatever a man does in this life is credited to his account for future births, so that whatever he enjoys in those births is due mainly to capital accumulated in the former. This idea is further developed in the next two lines.

[2] This is a test case to prove that results of work do not manifest themselves in this life but in the next. For otherwise we cannot explain the phenomena that even by putting forth small energy a man at times enjoys considerable good. This discrepancy between cause and effect is due to the fact that much of this effect is really the income of causes capitalised, so to speak, in the past life and lying at present in the background and hence out of one's sight.

[3] In ll. 105-8 the author is discussing some of the forms which Pauruṣa or Energy should take in this life. One of these is the application of skill and force to do away with and remedy the evils of this world. For it is possible to undo even the surest decrees of Fate भाविभावानां just as the lamp can be protected from the wind.

[4] Fate is either good अनुकूल, or bad प्रतिकूल as known by the fruits फलाभ्यां. But each is divided into 3 classes according to the degrees of favourableness or unfavourableness.

[5] दैव has in l. 95 been recognised as one of the factors that control human life. These lines describe the effects of Fate upon some of the historical characters.

[1] 117-18. Benefits accrue out of good deeds. Injuries come out of evil deeds. So one should know from Śâstra what is good and what is evil, and leaving the evil practise the good.

119-20. The prince is the cause of time (the maker of his age) and of the good and evil practices. By a terrible use of his engine of sovereignty he should maintain the subjects each in his proper sphere.

121-22. The kingdom is an organism of seven limbs, *viz.*, the Sovereign, the Minister, the Friend, the Treasure, the State, the Fort and the Army.

[2] 122-24. Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the king or Sovereign is the head, the Minister is the eye, the Friend is the ear, the Treasure is the mouth, the Army is the mind, the Fort is the arms and the State is the legs.

125-26. I shall gradually describe the qualities of each of these limbs, which intelligent monarchs possess.

127-28. The king is the cause of the prosperity of this world, is respected by the experienced and old people and gives pleasure to the eyes (of the people) as the moon to the sea.

129-30. If the king is not a perfect guide, his subjects will get into trouble as a boat without the helmsman sinks in a sea.

[3] 131-32. Without the governor, the subjects do not keep to their own spheres. Nor does the sovereign flourish in the world without subjects.

133-34. If the monarch proceeds according to the dictates of Nyâya or Justice (Nîti) he can supply himself as well as the subjects with Trivarga or virtue, wealth and enjoyments, otherwise he destroys both.

135-36. The king called Vaiśravaṇa could rule the earth through virtue, but through sin Nahuṣa got hell.

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[1] These four lines have no connection with the discussion about Fate and Puruṣakâr above but refer to ordinary rules of morality and repeat what has been previously said about the king's functions.

[2] The analogy of the kingdom with the body of man and the description of it as the body politic or political organism, which have been made much of in modern times, are suggested here though in a quite different and fanciful way.

It is not clear what is meant by राष्ट्र and how it is an अङ्ग or limb of राज्य the kingdom or how it can stand for the legs of a human being. The analogies of the Army with the mind and the Fort with the arms are also queer and not quite comprehensible.

[3] The State is a natural and *necessary* institution. Man is a political animal and cannot prosper unless a relation between sovereign and subjects is established in the society.

[1] 137-38. Vena was ruined through vice and Prithu was prosperous through virtue. So the ruler should cultivate his interests by placing virtue in his front.

139-40. The prince who is virtuous, is a part of the gods. He who is otherwise is a part of the demons, an enemy of religion and oppressor of subjects.

[2] 141-43. The king is made out of the permanent elements of Indra, Vâyu, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, Moon, and Kuvera, and is the lord of both the immovable and movable worlds.

144. Like Indra, the sovereign is able to protect the wealth and possessions.

145. As Vâyu or Air is the spreader (and diffuser) of scents, so the prince is the generator (and cause) of good and evil actions.

146. As the sun is the dispeller of darkness (and the creator of light) so the king is the founder of religion and destroyer of irreligion.

147. As Yama is the god who punishes (human beings after death) so also the monarch is the punisher of offences (in this world).

148. Like Agni, the prince is the purifier and the enjoyer of all gifts.

149. As Varuṇa, the god of water, sustains everything by supplying moisture, so also the king maintains everybody by his wealth.

150. As the Moon pleases human beings by its rays, so also the king satisfies everybody by his virtues and activities.

[3] 151. As the god of wealth protects the jewels of the universe, so the king protects the treasure and possessions of the State.

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[1] These are some elementary notions about the king, his functions and his duties which are oft repeated in treatises like this. The only peculiarity about these passages is the reference to names of Paurâṇik kings and the attempt to make the precept concrete by alluding to their lots in life. Can these references as well as the illustrations of the fortunate and unfortunate persons mentioned in connection with वेन be said to approach a rudimentary application of the historical method in Hindu sociological thought ?

[2] The king's divine origin and extraordinary (superhuman) powers are suggested. His elements are derived from the gods. Each god bestows on him certain powers.

[3] In ll. 144-51, the functions and general attributes of the king are described, and each is attributed to the making of his body and life out of the elements of one of the gods. These lines elucidate the text in 141-3.

152. As the moon does not shine well if deprived of one of its parts, so the king does not flourish unless he has all the parts described above.

153-54. The sovereign is always possessed of the attributes of seven persons, *e.g.*, father, mother, preceptor, brother, friend, Vaiśravaṇa or Kuvera and Yama.

155. As a father provides his offsprings with attributes, (*i.e.*, by education), so the king can endow his subjects with good qualities.

156. The mother pardons offences and nourishes the children, (so also the king).

157. The Guru is an adviser to the disciple and teaches him good lessons (so also the king).

158. The brother takes out his own legal share from the ancestral property (so also the king receives his own share of the people's wealth and produce).

159. The friend is the confidante and keeper (or protector) of one's self, wife, wealth and secrets (so also the king).

160. Kuvera gives wealth (so also the king), and Yama is the punisher (so also the king).

The functions described above in the analogies with the powers of Nature may be grouped under the following five heads :—

(1) Protection of person and property (144,151).
(2) Administration of Justice (147).
(3) Spread of religion and culture (145,46).
(4) Philanthropy and charity (149).
(5) Realisation of revenues (148).

' Almost all the attributes mentioned in 155-60 have been implied or described in the preceding analogies. Thus the functions of the father and the *guru* may be taken under 145-46, the mother's function is partly that of Yama (147) and partly that of Varuṇa (149). Yama's function has been unnecessarily repeated. Kuvera in these lines is a giver, whereas in the preceding account is the protector of wealth. The brother's work was suggested by Agni's function. But the peculiar attribute of भ्राता as the sharer of paternal wealth is to be noted.

The only additional function of the king brought forward in these lines is that suggested by the analogy with the friend. The king should be the protector of the person of the subjects, the custodian of their women and wealth, and the keeper of their secrets. But these are the things which people generally try to keep out of the king's reach and interference except under circumstances of extreme necessity, *e.g.*, in revolutionary times or when compelled by self-interest. It is strange that Śukranîti should place such confidence in the ruler under normal conditions, for it is otherwise full of the most sound and practical advice adapted to the ways of the world.

161-62. These attributes abide in the king who is prospering. These seven qualities should never be deserted by a king.

[1] 163-64. The man who can pardon and deal out mercy (at the proper time) is really able to quell and subdue (the offenders). Without the attribute of mercy, the king cannot get on even with all his good qualities.

165-66. The king should give up his own faults and abandon unfriendly words, but should ever satisfy his subjects by gifts, bestowal of honours and good deeds.

167-70. The king who is restrained, valorous and skilled in the use of arms and weapons, who is the queller of foes and not independent of Nîti, who is a man of parts and has acquired the arts and sciences, who is not an associate of the lower classes, who has long views, who respects old men and attends to Nîti, and who is respected by meritorious men is known to be a part of the gods.

171. The king who is otherwise is a part of the demons and gets hell.

[2] 172. The attendants of the king are always according to the parts of the king.

173-74. The king abides by their actions, and is always gratified by their conduct. He cannot be otherwise because of the strength of Fate.

[3] 175-77. Effects of works done must be endured by men unless there be remedies. If remedies be procured, the effects have not to be endured to the same extent, just as a disease under treatment.

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[1] This is a very sound advice, for sometimes "a soft answer turneth away wrath." Coercion is but a very small part of government, and it is only highest statesmanship that can discover when and what to punish and when and what to pardon. Punishment, after all, is a means to an end, and the victories of kindness are more effective and lasting than those of terror. And so mercy is the crown and glory of human virtues. Shakespeare's eulogy is well-known.

[2] Like ruler, like ministers.

[3] A disease even if treated is still painful, but of course not so much as before treatment. So also if प्रतिकार be provided against कृतंकर्म or work done, the फलं may not be so much यथा as when there was no remedy प्रतिकारैर्विना But in any case the कर्म फल must be endured.

[1]178-80. Who tries or cares to abide by an advice that is the cause of evils? For the mind is gratified with only good results, nobody's heart is attracted by evil consequences. So one should follow the Śâstras after discriminating between those that treat of good, and those that treat of evil, consequences.

[2]181. Discipline is the chief thing to the guide or king. This comes through the dictates or precepts of Śâstras. This gives mastery over the senses, and one who has mastered the senses, acquires the Śâstras.

183-85. The king should first provide discipline to himself, then to the sons, then to ministers, then to servants, then to the subjects. He should never display his ability in only advising others.

186. Sometimes a king, though well qualified, may be without any subjects or rights.

187-88. But the subjects, however vicious, must not be without a king. Just as Indrânî is never a widow, so also the subjects.

189-90. Sovereignty in a kingdom is deprived of its beauty if there is the king only but there are no ministers, well-disciplined kinsmen, and restrained offsprings.

191-92. The king whose subjects are devoted, who is devoted to the protection of his subjects, and who has disciplined himself, enjoys great prosperity.

[3]193-94. One should bring to bay or discipline, by the hook of knowledge, the elephant of the senses which is running to and fro in a destructive manner in the vast forest of enjoyable things.

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[1] These lines contain an advice as to the observance and pursuit of Śâstras. Any and every Śâstra must not be followed, but a discrimination is to be made between that which is likely to promote one's interests and that which is not.

[2] नय guide. The other reading is नृप (king.)

[3] Here is a complete analogy between the processes of training elephants and the senses. Just as the elephant running to and fro in the forest and committing havoc विप्रमाथिनं all around has to be tamed by the use of the rod, so also the senses of man incessantly wandering to find gratification in the multifarious objects of the universe and causing perturbation to the soul, have to be controlled and disciplined by the application of knowledge.

This advice about the control and restraint of the senses is the fundamental and primary lesson in the Hindu system of moral education, and the simile about wild and unbroken elephants is one of the most common devices in Sanskrit literature.

[1]195-96. The mind, covetous of the meat of enjoyable things, sends forth the senses. So one should carefully check the mind, for when the mind is controlled, the senses are conquered.

[2]197-98. How can the man who is unable to subdue one's mind master the world extending to the sea?

199-200. The king whose heart is agitated by the enjoyable things gets into a trap like the elephant.

[3]201-2. Sound, touch, sight, taste and smell—each of these five alone is sufficient to cause destruction.

[4]203-4. The deer which is innocent, feeds upon grass and blades, and can roam far and wide, seeks death attracted by the music of the tempter.

[5]205-6. The elephant whose stature is like the peak of a mountain, and who can uproot trees with ease, is however caught because of the pleasure of contact with the female.

[6]207-8. The fly gets death by falling suddenly into the lamp because of its mad passion through gratification of eyes by the light of the wick in a mild lamp.

[7]209-10. The fish though it dives into unfathomed depths and lives in distant abodes, tastes the angle with meat for death.

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[1] The मनः or mind is an independent entity in Hindu psychology ; not a mere name for the processes of consciousness produced by the sensations and perceptions through the organs of senses, but a separate organ like the five senses, having its own function to discharge. The मनः is the director or conductor of the five organs of sensation, as described here ; these have to work under its guidance.

विषय A technical term in Hindu Psychology and Ethics often used in this treatise in connexion with moral topics, *e.g.*, training of character, discipline, etc. There are five विषयs, *viz.*, रूप (sight) शब्द (sound), गन्ध (smell), रस (taste) स्पर्श (touch), *i.e.*, the five classes of objects in the universe which can be perceived through the five different organs of sensation. These five विषयs constitute the whole universe of material objects and enjoyable things that fall within the physical reach of man.

The analogy here is between meat and विषय.

[2] Just as charity begins at home, so also conquests begin with self. The capacity for mastery over a kingdom is proved by the ability to conquer one's own self.

[3] The विषयs are enumerated here, and in the next few lines the evil consequences of each are described.

[4] Here is the pernicious influence of sound शब्द illustrated by the case of the deer which is otherwise quite innocent.

[5] Here is the baneful influence of touch or स्पर्श illustrated by the case of the elephant who is otherwise very powerful.

[6] Here is the danger from रूप or sight illustrated by the case of the fly.

[7] The fish is the object lesson for danger from taste or रस.

[1] 211-12. The bee which has the power of cutting holes, and can fly with wings, gets however caught within a lotus because of its desire for smell.

[2] 213-4. These poison-like *Viṣayas* are each capable of ruining men. Cannot the five combined cause destruction ?

[3] 215-16. Indulgence in gambling, women and drinking, when undue, produces many disasters ; but when within due limits, gives rise to wealth, sons, and intelligence.

[4] 217-18. Nala, Dharma (Yudhiṣṭhira) and other kings were ruined through honest gambling, but gambling with dishonesty is productive of much wealth to those who know it.

219-20. Even the name of females is captivating and agitates the mind. What to speak of the effect of sight of those whose brows are luxuriously decorated ?

221-22. Whom does not a woman subdue, who is skilled in the art of secret conversation, who talks soft and sweet, and whose eyes are red ?

223 24. The woman can subdue with passion the heart of even the ascetic who has conquered the senses. What to say of men whose senses are not controlled ?

225-26. Many princes have been ruined through attachment to women, *e.g.*, Indra, Dandakya, Nahuṣa, Rāvana and others.

[5] 227-28. The wife of a man who is not extremely attached to her is for his happiness. For without her there is no other companion in domestic work.

229. Of the man who drinks wine excessively, intelligence disappears.

[6] 230-31. Wine, drunk according to some measure, increases the talent, clears the intelligence, augments patience and makes the mind steadfast ; but otherwise it is ruinous.

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[1] The bee illustrates the danger from गन्ध or smell. The lecture on the necessity for control of the senses and the practice of self-restraint is in ll. 201-12 very ably and poetically delivered and reaches its climax in the next two lines.

[2] The whole description is a very clear and concrete presentation of the nature of विषयs and the processes of the working of passions, and a great power of observation is implied in each case. Three important professions have been indicated in the above lines—(1) deer-catching by the hunter, (2) elephant catching, and (3) angling.

[3] Each of these three passions has both its uses and abuses. अयुक्त—Undue, immoderate, excessive. युक्तियुक्त—due and moderate.

[4] Thus gambling has both its uses and abuses.

[5] Thus the woman also has both uses and abuses.

[6] Thus Drinking is both good and bad according to circumstances. All along in this description the author is advocating the Rule of the Golden Mean : 'Avoid Excesses.'

[1]232. Sensuousness and anger are like wine and should be duly used —the former in the maintenance of the family, the latter against enemies.

[2]234. Cupidity should be indulged in by a king who wants victory in the of the army.

[3]235-36. But princes should not indulge in sensuousness with regard to other's wives, cupidity in other's wealth, and anger in punishing their own subjects.

[4]237. Can a man be said to have a mate when he takes to another's wife? Can anybody be called a hero who punishes his own subjects? Can a man be called wealthy through somebody else's wealth?

[5] 239-40. The gods ruin and cast down the king who is not a protector, the Brâhmaṇ who is not a performer of penances, and the rich man who is not charitable.

241-42. Sovereignty, the position of a giver and opulence are the fruits of penances; and the fruits of sins are begging, slavery and poverty.

243-44. Having observed the Śâstras and duly governed one's own self, the king should discharge his duties for happiness in this world and the next.

[6]245-48. Punishment of the wicked, charity, protection of the subjects,

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[1] Śukrâchâryya's system does not blindly advocate the absolute inhibition of the passions and the strict asceticism which leads to the killing of the senses. In it, there is a place for gambling, drinking, woman, anger, sensuousness and other indulgences. He gives the devil his due, and does not forget the good to be derived from, and the uses that can be made of, even gambling and drinking. His morality is austere but not inhuman, and is adapted not to the abstract human beings shut up in a convent but to the complete men with all their passions and sensibilities, discharging their thousand and one duties in this world. Śukrâchâryya thus arrives at a system that is calculated to bring about the harmonious development of all faculties of man without repressing or unduly pushing forward any one.

[2] Thus काम क्रोध and लोभ, passions which are ordinarily supposed to be the greatest enemies of moral nature have, according to Śukrâchâryya, their own parts to play in human life and are not absolutely the unalloyed vices they are painted to be.

[3] These are sufficient checks to the wantonness of the three passions. They are allowed within these limits. Beyond these they become vices.

[4] The advice is 'Be married,' 'Be heroic,' 'Be wealthy.' But taking to another's wife is no marriage, oppressing one's own people is no heroism, and getting another's wealth is no richness.

[5] The proper functions धर्मs of the three classes of men are here described.

[6] भूमेरुपार्जन—Income to be derived from land by the king. The agricultural, (and other economic) functions are prescribed in this phrase.

करदीकरणं राज्ञां—Independent princes to be made dependent and tributaries. The king should always try to be an overlord by conquering kingdoms and establishing an empire over them, so that their chiefs may be made to pay homage. The advice is imperialistic. The other functions are ordinary and have been often mentioned in the treatise.

performance of Râjasûya and other sacrifices, equitable realisation of revenues, conversion of princes into tributary chiefs, quelling of the enemies and extraction of wealth from land—these are the eight functions of the king.

249-50. Those kings are almost like oxen (*i.e.*, fools) by whom their strength (Army) is not increased, by whom princes are not made to pay tribute, and by whom subjects are not well protected.

251-52. The most miserable king is he whom the subjects look upon with terror and disrespect, and who is deserted by both rich and virtuous men.

[1]253-54. The king who is much attached to actors, musicians, prostitutes, athletes, oxen and lower castes deserves ignominy and is exposed to enemies.

255-56. The king who is inimical to the intelligent, who is pleased with cheats, and does not understand his own faults, creates his own destruction.

257-59. When the king does not pardon offences, but is a great punisher, is the robber of men's wealth, and oppresses the subjects on hearing of his own faults, the society gets disturbed and disorganised.

[2]260-65. By making the secret spies keep information as to who are accusing his conduct, in what light the ministers and others who know it are viewing it, what is the extent of satisfaction and who are discontented with him owing to his virtues and vices, and hearing everything from them in secret, the king deserving praise should always know his own faults from the standpoint of the subjects and get rid of them, but never punish the people.

266-67. If when a king is made by the spies to hear "People dispraise you, O king," he gets angry through wickedness, he hides his own faults.

268-69. Even the chaste Sîtâ was forsaken by Râma owing to his dispraise among the subjects. Even a small punishment was not meted to a certain रजक by one who was able to do so.

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[1] Śukranîti lays special stress on the king's own discipline and self-restraint. The greatest of his functions is considered to be ruling himself. The importance of this moral training to the king is constantly mentioned in the treatise.

[2] Having described some of the virtues and vices of kings the author is suggesting some of the processes by which they should try to rectify themselves. One of the most important rules of morality for the king is that which regulates his relations and dealings with the subjects, and therefore a correct estimate of their opinion and criticism is the first step to the king's moral discipline.

The spies have to be appointed not only against the subjects, but also against the the king himself and on behalf of the subjects. This Intelligence Department is to be regarded as the instrument for bringing public opinion to bear on the king's public activities.

[1]270-74. Even when immunity is declared by a king, educated in the arts and sciences, nobody can dare speak out even his serious offences in his presence. Besides it is heard that the gods such as Viṣṇu also are fond of praise. What then to speak of the men? Dispraise always creates anger. Hence the king should be ever merciful, क्षमागदर्शी and affectionate.

[2] 275-76. Youth, life, mind, beauty, wealth, sovereignty—these six are very inconstant. Knowing this, one should be religious.

277-78. The subjects desert a king who is uncharitable, who insults men, who practises deceit and uses harsh words, and who is severe in punishments.

279-80. People do not take to a king who is very cowardly, procrastinating, very passionate, and excessively attached to the enjoyable things through ignorance.

281. But the people are satisfied with the opposite qualities.

282. One demerit spreads ill fame, cannot a combination of faults do it?

283-84. Hunting, dice-playing and drinking are condemnable in kings. Dangers from these are illustrated in the cases of Pându, Naiṣadha and Vṛiṣṇi respectively.

285-86. Sensuousness, anger, ignorance, cupidity, vanity and passion—one should give up these six. These being given up, the king becomes happy.

287-90. King Dandakya went to the dogs by taking to one of these six enemies, *viz.*, sensuousness, Janamejaya through anger, Râjarṣi Aila through cupidity, Asura Bâtâpi through folly, Râkṣasa Paulastya through vanity, and king Dombhodbhava through passion.

[3]291-92. But the powerful Jâmadagnya and the fortunate Ambarîṣa ruled the world for a long time by giving up these six enemies.

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[1] Two grounds are advanced for asking the king to take special care to be merciful to those who are censurers and detractors of his conduct. In the first place, the king is not likely to get full information about his own faults, for people can never be bold enough to speak the truth. In the second place, it is very difficult to put up with public censure and dispraise—Fame being the last infirmity of human character.

[2] This precept has no connexion with the preceding or the following.

[3] Having in ll. 259-74 described the rules of public morality that the king has specially to observe, Śukrâchâryya gives an account of the faults and vices that men in general commit in individual lives and which also the king must guard against. This ethics of individual life is illustrated by concrete references to the cases of kings, Riṣis, Asuras and Râkṣasas.

293-94. Augmenting virtue and wealth which are pursued by the good with care, and controlling his senses, the king should worship his preceptor.

295-97. Association with the *guru* is for the acquisition of the Śâstras, the Śâstras are calculated to increase knowledge ; the king who is trained in the branches of learning is respected by the good, and does not incline to wrong deeds even if impelled by evil motives.

[1]298-300. The wise king by daily acquiring the various branches of learning, practises only those works which are known to be virtuous according to Śruti, Smṛitis, tradition and self-deliberation.

301-2. Of the monarch who has conquered his senses, and who follows the Nîti Śâstra, prosperity is in the ascendant and Fame reaches the skies.

303-4. Anwikshiki (Logic), the Trayî (3 Vedas), Varta (Economics) and Dandanîti—these four branches of learning the king should always study.

[2]305-8. The science of discussion and Vedánta are founded on the science of Anwikshiki ; virtue and vice, as well as interests and injuries of man are based on the Trayî, wealth and its opposite on Varta, good and bad government on Dandanîti. Thus all the castes of men and the stages of human life sre built upon these sciences.

[3]310-11. The six Aṅgas, the four Vedas, Mîmâṃsâ (system of philo-

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[1] Four means are mentioned here for determining the धर्म (1) श्रुति *i.e.*, Revealed literature, *e.g.*, the Vedas ; (2) Smṛiti, *e.g.*, Dharma Śástras (3) लोकत: Tradition and custom, consensus of public opinion (4) मनसा साधु निश्चितं cogitation in the mind, *i.e.*, introspection, discussion and deliberation.

[2] In ll. 303-8 Śûkrâcháryya has enumerated and briefly described the scope of the four fundamental branches of learning. In the next few lines each is being fully explained.

[3] अङ्गानि, six limbs of the Vedas, they are called. They are auxiliaries and supplements to the Vedas. A preliminary training in them is required to acquire mastery over the Vedas, for they treat of the grammar, phonetics, mathematics, etymology, &c., used in the Vedas.

मीमांसा the common name of two of the six systems of philosophy in Hindu Literature. They are (1) Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ or simply Mîmâṃsâ propounded by Jaimini dealing with the rituals of religion, and (2) Uttara Mimâṃsá or Vedânta, dealing with esoteric religion. In this line the first is meant, for Vedânta has been included in Anwikshiki or Logic in l. 305.

पुराणानि These are 18 in number, constituting the whole system of Hindu theology and mythology and forming an encyclopædia of the learning and wisdom of the ancient Hindus.

त्रयी, *i.e.*, trio of sciences—comprising the first three Vedas, the Atharvan is not a Veda but rather a mere appendix to them all. Here Śukrâcháryya gives a special meaning to it.

sophy,) Nyâya (system of philosophy), Dharma Śâstras as well as the Purâṇas—all these constitute the Trayî.

[1] 311-12. In Varta are treated interest, agriculture, commerce and preservation of cows. The man who is well up in Varta need not be anxious for earnings.

313-14. Danda is restraint and punishment, hence the king is also known to be Danda. The Nîti that regulates punishment constitutes Dandanîti, Nîti so called because it governs and guides.

[2] 315-16. Man gives up both pleasure and pain through Anwikshiki and the science of self (metaphysics) and gets both temporal and spiritual self-realisation through the Trayî.

317-18. As kindness is a great virtue among men, so the king should rule the poor people with kindness.

319-20. The king should not oppress the poor people seeking his own interest. For they, dying through repression, ultimately ruin the king.

321-22. One should asssociate with the good people both for virtue and happiness. One who is respected by the good attains great prosperity.

323-24. The man who is attended by good men gratifies the heart in the same way as the moon with its cool rays pleases the tank with its newly blossomed lotuses.

325-26. One should abandon the company of bad men which is terrible like the desert scorched by the summer sun, frightening and inhospitable.

327-28. One should associate rather with snakes whose mouths contain poison, and whose faces have been darkened by the smoke of fire exhaled by their breathings, but never with bad men.

[3] 329-30. By one who desires good, the bad man should be accorded even a better treatment than the signs of honour meant for good persons who are to be worshipped.

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[1] *Varta* is thus a practical science prescribing rules for the maintenance of family.

[2] Having previously described the system of moral education for a king both as the head of the State and as a private individual, in ll. 205-316 Śukrâchâryya has drawn up a syllabus of intellectual training and explained the content of each branch of learning with its utility to man.

[3] Lines 321-30 contain ordinary precepts about companionship in powerful language.

331-32. One should always please the world by words that can captivate the heart. Even the man who gives away wealth in charity terrifies the people if he uses harsh words.

333-34. The wise man, even if he be oppressed, should not use such words by which men feel pain as if pierced at heart.

335-36. Pleasant words ought to be used whether to good men or to enemies. The man who is popular speaks sweet words like the notes of the peacock.

337-38. The voices of the drake red with passion, the cuckoo and the peacock are not so attractive as those of the good and wise

339-40. Those who speak pleasant words and wish good deeds are praiseworthy and prosperous, in short, they are gods in human form.

[1] 341-42. There is no such art of subjugation in the three worlds as Mercy, Friendship, Charity and Sweet words.

343-44. One should worship the gods with a heart purified by faith in them, treat the seniors as gods, and the equals as himself.

345-46. One should make favourable the seniors by salutations, the good people by well-behaved dealings, and the gods by good deeds.

347-48. One should attract the friends and relatives by good behaviour, the wife by love, the servants by offering distinctions, and others by gifts.

349-50. The man who is powerful, intelligent and valorous enjoys the earth full of its wealth, and such a king becomes the lord of this world.

351-53. Prowess, strength, intelligence and valour—these are great qualifications. The king who has other qualities but not these, though he is wealthy, cannot enjoy even a small region, but is soon thrown down from his kingdom.

[2] 354-55. Superior to the very wealthy king is the monarch, who, though small in territory, has his commands unobstructed and is powerful. He can be such with the qualifications (mentioned above).

356. Men who are other than kings are not competent to (rule and) beautify the earth (land).

357-58. The earth (land) is the source of all wealth. For this earth (land) kings can lay down even their lives.

359-60. Wealth and life are preserved by men for enjoyment. But what avails a man to have wealth and life who has not protected the land?

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[1] Lines 331-42 contain the rules for regulating one's speech in an extravagant style.

[2] It is not size that is the strength of a State. But discipline and able management (as अव्याहताज्ञ implies) and military efficiency are the two principal conditions of the importance of a kingdom.

361-62. Accumulated wealth can never be sufficient for any amount of expenditure. Truly, without perpetual incomes nobody's, not even Kuvera's, (is sufficient).

[1] 363-64. The king is honoured because of these qualities. It is not birth that makes a king. He is not respected so much because of his ancestry, as for his prowess, strength and valour.

[2] 365-67. That ruler is called a Sâmanta in whose kingdom without oppressing the subjects, an annual revenue from one lakh up to three lakh *Karṣas* is regularly realised.

[3] 368-74. That ruler is called a *Mândalika* whose annual revenue exceeds three lakh *karṣas* up to 10 lakhs. The *Râjâ* is he whose income exceeds 10 lakh *karṣas* up to the 20th lakh. The *Mahârajâ* is he whose income reaches to the 50th lakh. The *Swaṛât* is he whose income exceeds the last up to a crore. The *Samrât* is he whose income exceeds a crore up to 10 crores The *Virât*, whose income goes beyond that to the 50th crore. The *Sârvabhauma*, who is above that and to whom the earth with its seven islands is ever bound.

[4] 375. The ruler has been made by Brahmâ a servant of the people getting his revenue as remuneration. His sovereignty, however, is only for protection.

377-78. Those servants who have been appointed equal with *Sâmantas* and others are also to be known as *Sâmantas*, etc., in succession and to be sharers of the royal income.

379-80. Those who have been deprived of the post of the *Sâmantas*, etc., but who are maintained by the *Mahârâjas* and others at the same salary are called *Under-Sâmantas*, etc.

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[1] Not heredity but personal qualifications constitute the sole title to kingship.

[2] कर्ष = 80 *ratis*, thus less than a Rupee or tola, for a tola is equivalent to 96 *ratis*.

So a सामन्त is a king whose annual revenue in terms of modern Indian Currency would be between Rs. 83,333 and Rs. 250,000

[3] The grades of kings according to modern Indian standard :—

सामन्त	between	Rs.	83,333	and	250,000	स्वराट्	between	Rs. 4,166,666	and	8,333,333
माण्डलिक	,,	,,	1250,000	,,	833,333	सम्राट्	,,	,, 8,333,333	,,	83,333,333
राजा	,,	,,	833,333	,,	1,666,666	विराट्	,,	,, 83,333,333	,,	416,666,666
महाराजा	,,	,,	1,666,666	,,	4,166,666	सार्वभौम	above	,, 416,666,666.		

[4] The king is a master only in the sense that he is to protect the people's interests, and not that he can enjoy any rights and privileges or that he can treat the people in any way he likes. His position is rather that of servitude (दास्यत्व.)

भाग share of national produce, royal income, revenue ; भृति remuneration, wages, the revenue is the *salary* the king receives for his services to the people.

381-2 The governor of 100 *Grâmas* is also called a *Sâmanta*. The man who is *appointed* by a king over 100 *Grâmas* is called a *Nri-Sâmanta*.

[1]383-4. The man who is appointed over 10 *Grâmas* is known as *Nâyaka*. The *Âśâpâla* is he who enjoys the revenue of *Ayuta* (10,000) *Grâmas*, also known as *Swarât*.

385-6. A *Grâma* is that piece of land whose area is a *cros*, and whose yield is 1,000 silver *Karṣa*. The half of a *Grâma* is called *Pallî*, the half of a *Pallî* is *Kumbha*.

387-8. A *Cros*, according to Prajâpati (Brahmâ), is 5,000 cubits, according to Manu, it is 4,000 cubits.

389-90. The area of a *Cros*, according to Brahmâ, is two *Crore* and a half cubits; or 2,500 *Parivartanas*.

391-2. An *Angula* is the length of the middle bone of the middle finger, 8 *Yavodaras* by length and 5 by breadth.

393-4. A Cubit or *kara*, according to Prajâpati, is made up of 24 *angulas*. This standard is the best for land measurements, other standards are inferior.

395-6. A *Danda* is the equivalent of 4 *karas* (cubits) and also 5 cubits. The *Angula* of the *kara* (cubit) for measuring *Danda* and *Laghu* is 5 *yavodaras* (and not 8 as above) according to Manu.

[2]397-8. A *Danda*, according to Prajâpati, is 768 *yavodaras*; according to Manu, 600 *yavodaras*.

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[1] Grades of Royal officers described in order of income—

सामन्त (1) Officer with salary equal to the income of a *Sâmanta* as described in the gradation of rulers.

(2) Independent ruler of 100 *Grâmas*.

हीनसामन्त Salary same as that of *Sâmanta*, but post subordinate.

नृसामन्त—Officer who is the head of 100 ग्रामs.

नायक Officer who is the head of 10 ग्रामs.

आशापाल-स्वराट्—Officer who is the head of 10,000 ग्रामs.

[2] वसुषड् मुनिसंख्या—In this number वसु stands for the figure 8, because there are 8 *Vasus* in the Universe, and मुनि stands for figure 7 because there are seven Rishis. Hence the number seems to be 867. But by the rule (अंकस्य वामागतिः figures move from the right leftwards) the figure 8 will be the first digit, and 7 the third. Hence the number is 768. And this according to calculation of Prajâpati. Thus

दण्ड = 4 cubits.
= 4 × 24 *Angulas*.
= 4 × 24 × 8 *Yavodaras* = 768 *Yavodaras*.

According to Manu's calculation:

दण्ड = 5 × 24 × 5 = 600 *Yavodaras*.

399. The *Nivartana*, according to each, is 25 *dandas*.

[1]400-1. According to Manu, a *Nivartana* is equivalent to 3,000 *angulas*, 15,000 *yavas*, or 125 cubits.

402-4. According to Prajâpati, a *Nivartana* is equivalent to 19,200 *yavodaras*, 2,400 *angulas*, and 100 cubits.

405-6. According to both systems the area of a *Nivartana* is 625 *dandas*, for on each side are 25 *dandas*.

407-8. A *Parivartana* is made up of 75,000 *angulas* according to Manu, 60,000 *angulas* according to Prajâpati.

409-10. According to Manu, a *Parivartana* is 3,125 cubits; according to Prajâpati it is 2,500 cubits.

[2]411-2. According to Manu, a *Parivartana* is 4 lakh *yava* minus ¼ lakh; according to Prajâpati, it is 80,000 over 4 lakh *yavas*.

413-4. According to Manu, thirty-two *Nivartanas* would make 4,000 cubits or 800 *dandas*.

[3]415-6. *Bhuja* or one side of a *Parivartana* is twenty-five *dandas*. The area, therefore, is an *ayuta karas*.

[4]417. The *Parivartana* of cultivated land is four *Bhujas*.

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[1] त्रिपंच = 15, सपादशत = 100 + ¼ of 100 = 125. A पाद is a quarter.

[2] Parivartana (1) = 4 lakh − ¼ lakh = 400,000—25,000
= 375,000 yava.
(2) = 400,000 + 80,000 = 480,000 yava.

[3] परिवर्तन Equivalent to निवर्तन; for the area 10,000 cubits would give as one of its sides by square root 100 cubits, or 25 *dandas* and this is the measure of a निवर्तन (l. 399).

[4] 1 भुज = 25 Danda = 100 cubits.
∴ 4 भुज = 400 cubits.

The difficulty of interpretation arises from the fact that a line and an area have been indicated by the same term without special care to explain the use.

N.B.—The standard of measurements in ll. 386-417 :—

	Prajâpati.	Manu.		Measure.
(a)	8 Yavas	5 Yavas	=	1 Angula.
	24 Angulas	24 Angulas	=	1 Cubit.
	4 Cubits	5 cubits	=	1 Danda.
	∴ 768 Yavas	600 Yavas	=	1 Danda.
(b)	5,000 cubits	4,000 cubits	=	1 Crosa.
	∴ 5,000 × 5,000			
	or 25,000,000 sq. cub.	16,000,000 sq., cub.		Area of Crosa.
(c)	2,500 Parivartanas			Area of 1 Crosa.
	∴ 10,000 sq. cub.,			Area of 1 Parivartana.
	∴ 100 cub.*			Side भुज of Parivartana.

* Nivartana = Parivartana. (*Cf.* l. 399 and l. 415).

[1]418-19. The ruler should always realise his share (revenue) of produce from land according to Prajâpati's system; but in times of danger and difficulty, according to Manu's system, not otherwise.

[2]420. The ruler who extracts his share through cupidity (*i.e.*, beyond his dues) is ruined with his subjects.

[3]421-22. One should not give up even an *angula* of land in such a way as to part with rights to it; may, however, give away (to persons) for their maintenance, but so long as the receiver lives.

[4]423-24. The wise man should always give away lands for the gods, for parks and public grounds, and for dwelling houses to the peasants.

	Prajapati.	Manu.	Measure.
(d)	25 Dandas ...	25 Dandas ...	1 Nivartana.
	∴ 25 × 768 Yavas or 19,200 Yavas ...	25 × 600 Yavas 15,000 Yavas ...	1 Nivartana.
	Again 25 × 4, *i.e.*, 100 Cubits*	25 × 5, *i.e.*, 125 Cubits ...	1 Nivartana.
	So also 25 × 4 × 24 Anguls *i.e.*, 2,400 Anguls ...	25 × 5 × 24 Anguls 3,000 Anguls ...	1 Nivartana.
	So also 25 × 4 × 24 × 8 Yavas or 19,200 Yavas ...	25 × 5 × 24 × 5 Yavas 15,000 Yavas ...	1 Nivartana.
(e)	25 × 25 Sq. Dandas or 625 Sq. Dandas ...	25 × 25 Sq. Dandas 625 Sq. Dandas ...	Area of Nivartana.
	625 × 4 or 2,500 Cubits ...	625 × 5 3,125 Cubits ...	Area of Parivartana or Nivartana.
	∴ 2,500 × 24 Angulas or 60,000 Angulas ...	3,125 × 24 75,000 Angulas ...	Area of Parivartana or Nivartana.
	∴ 60,000, × 8 Yavas or 480,000 Yavas ...	75,000 × 5 Yavas 375,300 Yavas ...	Area of Parivartana or Nivartana.
(f)	1 00 Cubits	125 Cub. ...	1 Nivartana.
		125 × 32 Cub. 4,000 Cub. ...	32 „
		$\frac{4000}{5}$ or 800 Dandas ...	32 „

[1] Since Manu's standard is lower than Prajâpati's, revenue realised according to the former would be higher than that on the latter's system. Realisation on Manu's system would, therefore, inflict great hardships on the subjects. Hence the injunction that in ordinary times Prajâpati is to be followed. But, under exceptional circumstances, when there may be a great demand for money the king may use Manu's calculation and thus practically enhance the rates of payment. In short, Manu's system is to be reserved as a safety-valve by way of imposition of a kind of tax, so to speak, under abnormal conditions.

[2] This is an advice against arbitrary and exorbitant taxation which is a great hindrance to the development of national resources and hence the cause of political and military inefficiency.

[3] Gifts of land with certain restrictions allowed, but no abandonment of rights on ordinary occasions.

[4] Land Laws (417-24) :—

(1) Land revenue to be realised ordinarily, according to Prajâpati's standard, but under circumstances of financial pressure, to the system of Manu.

(2) Realisation of revenue must never be arbitrary or exorbitant.

(3) Rights to land never to be given up.

(4) Gifts of land to poor people allowable for life only.

(5) Various conditions of gifts—

(i) For gods, (ii) For public walks, (iii) For the residences of peasants (कुटुम्बिनं?)

* Nivartana—Parivartana (cf. 1. 399, 1. 415).

[1]425-28. In a place that abounds in various trees, plants and shrubs and is rich in cattle, birds and other animals, that is endowed with good sources of water and supplies of grains, and is happily provided with resources in grasses and woods, that is bestirred by the movements of boats up to the seas, and is not very far from the hills, and that is an even-grounded, picturesque plain, the ruler should build his capital.

[2]429-30. Which is to have the beautiful shape of a half moon or a circle, or a square, is to be surrounded by walls and ditches, and must contain sites for *Grâmas* or other divisions.

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[1] This description about the points to be noted in the selection of a site for राजधानी or capital contains a magnificent account of the ideals of material existence that, according to Sukrâchâryya, should be present in the mind of the ruler of a State, and gives an idea of the standard of perfection in secular and earthly life that the ancient Hindus or, at any rate, the wisest men among them, could conceive for the happiness and well-being of man.

वृत्तलता &c., the place must be well-wooded. The climatological and economic importance of forests and the evils of deforestisation have been receiving sufficient recognition in modern times

पशुपत्ती, &c.,—the province in which the capital is to be built must be rich in games and abound with the resources of the animal world.

उदकधान्य Referring to the agricultural opportunities of the country. There must be a splendid network of rivers and waterways intersecting it.

तृणकाष्ठ—For fodder and fuel.

सिन्धुनै—There are 3 points to be noted here. In the first place, communication with the sea is necessary; secondly, the use of boats; thirdly, the place must be आकुल *i.e.*, agitated or bestirred and moved by the arrivals and departures of the vessels,—referring to the great number of plying and active boats and the bustle of brisk commercial life.

The proximity of the sea to the capital city, or at any rate, the importance of keeping communication with it, was recognised by the ancient Romans also in the matter of a site for their "city of seven hills." They selected a place which was "near to, yet far from, the sea;" and much of the importance of Rome was ascribed to this condition.

महीधर—The hills also must be near—referring to the mineral and other resources peculiar to them which must be within easy reach of the capital. समभूदेश—a plain. According to Sukrâchâryya the hills must be near but not include the capital which is to be a part of the plains.

The chief city, as described above, must have the advantages of the hills, plains and seas, command the vegetable, animal and mineral resources of the country, and be a centre of quick commercial activity. This account, even if it be considered to be ideal likely to be realised in the land of "Nowhere" does certainly anticipate, like the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, some of the important principles followed in the construction of modern capital cities.

[2] Having given an account of the province the author describes the shape and boundaries and suggests the size of the capital city. सुशोभना—Whatever be the shape, semi-circular, circular or square, it must be beautiful. Beauty is never lost sight of. So also the province in which it is to be situated has been described to be सुरम्य or picturesque (428).

[1] 431-3. Which is to have the Sabhâ or Council Buildings in the centre, must ever be provided with wells, tanks and pools, which is to be furnished with four gates in the four directions, and which is to have good roads and parks in rows, and well constructed taverns, temples and *serais* for travellers.

434. Having built (such a capital), the king, well protected, should live there with his subjects.

[2] 435-7. The palace is to be in the midst of the Council Buildings must have stables for elephants, horses and cattle, is to be well adorned with spacious tanks, wells and water-pumps, is to have sides of equal length in all directions and to be high southwards and low northwards.

प्राकार,—walls. परिखा ditches. The capital must be well protected and self-sufficient. This has been the ideal of all Indian cities in ancient and mediaeval times. No town is mentioned without its walls and ditches.

ग्रामादीनां must have within it space for the laying out निवेशिनी of *Gramas, Pallis, Kumbhas*, etc. A ग्राम does not mean what is implied by a modern village. It is a technical term for a locality with certain definite measurements. Its area, as defined above, is 25,000,000 sq. cubits, that of a *cros*, *i.e.*, which is something above 2 modern sq. miles.

The *Gramas*, &c., must mean here the wards, districts and divisions into which a capital city is divided. Śukráchâryya's capital must be big enough to contain several such divisions.

[1] These lines contain an account of the internal arrangements of the town.

सभा The scene of political activity must be easily accessible to all, hence to be located in the central position.

कूप—Provision for drinking water must be adequate.

मार्ग etc.,—describing not only the means of communication and the places of public resort and amusements, but suggesting by the word वीथि (lines or rows), the great extent and area of the city. There must be many roads; and these are to be parallel to one another both in the straight and transverse lines. And as the parks also must be laid out in rows and necessarily many in number, the implication is that the city is very large and populous. Válmiki in his account of Ayodhyá under King Daśaratha, has described such rows of roads intersecting one another at right angles. Sir Thomas More's ideal description of the roads in *Utopia* does not surpass these accounts.

[2] As the सभा is so centrally situated with regard to the people of the capital, so the राजगृह is to be centrally situated with regard to the सभा.

गजाश्व—The stables must not be outside the palace. गव The cows are of daily service to the Hindu family and hence must be within the palace compounds. वापी The palace must have its own tanks and pools and be a self-sufficient unit in the supply of water for baths and drinks.

जलयन्त्र—Mechanical instruments, pumps, spouts and other devices for raising and distributing water, or otherwise decorating the gardens as ornamental tricks.

समभुजं—The palace is to be a uniformly built structure, all its sides being of the same dimension, but its shape is not given here.

[1]438-9 The palace is to have many and odd number of sides excepting the ordinary buildings. For ordinary buildings, unless they form a square among themselves, do not look well.

[2]440-1. The palace is to have walls guarded by sentinels equipped with arms and weapons and defended by strong machines, should have three court-yards and four beautiful gates in four directions.

[3]442-3. The palace is to be watched both during day and at night by four, five or six well-armed guards placed in each court-yard and acting in rotation every *yáma* (*i.e.*, 3 hours).

[4]444. The king should furnish the palace with various houses, tents, rooms and halls.

[5]445-6. Towards the east, the king should have houses for the washing and cleaning of clothes and other things, for baths and for worship, and for dining and cooking.

[6]447-9. For sleep and entertainments, for drinking as well as weeping, for grains and grindstones, for servants and maids, as well as for committing nuisances, houses should be built in order towards the south.

[7]450. Houses should be built towards the west for cows, deer, camels, elephants and other animals.

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[1] For ordinary purposes a square should be formed by four houses, two on each side, so that one may face the other in each direction. But this sort of चतुःशाल is not to be the plan for the construction of the royal residence. It is not to be an ordinary शाला and should be नैकभुज, have many sides and be बिसमबाहु, have odd number of arms, *i.e.*, 3 5, 7, &c. The shape of the palace thus seems to be that of a "regular" pentagon or septagon.

The construction here is confused.

[2] सुब्दुयंत्रकं—The royal residence should have machinery for protecting it from enemies.

[3] Arrangements for defence of the palace :

(1) Walls with sentinels.

(2) Guards in each court-yard. Watchmen to work both during day and night each for 3 hours.

यामिकैः—*i.e.*, those who have to work for a *yáma* or the 8th part of a day.

परिवर्तकैः—*i.e.*, rotating, by those who work in turn or succession.

[4] These rooms are mentioned below with the special purposes for which each is intended.

[5] So the eastern houses or rooms are set apart for the supply of the primary necessaries of life.

[6] It is difficult to find what is the propriety of setting apart these southern buildings for the purposes mentioned above. In ll. 435-37 the southern side has been described as higher than the northern. Perhaps the former is meant for private and domestic purposes, the latter for public and political, cf. ll. 451-53 below.

There are to be separate rooms for drinking and weeping also. Drinking was, in fact, a recognised practice among the kings.

[7] So the whole western side is reserved for the cattle.

[1]451-3. The northern rooms are built strong and beautiful for chariots, horses, arms and weapons, gymnasium, watchmen, for clothes and provisions, as well as for the study of the branches of learning.

[2]454. Or the king may build these houses according to his will.

[3]455. The king should build the court house and the museum to the north of the palace.

[4]456-7. The height of the wall of a room is to be one-fifth more than its length. The wall is to be wide to the extent of one-sixth of the room.

[5]458. The above is the measure for a house of one floor, for (houses of) more (than one floor) the measure will rise accordingly.

459-60. One should separate the rooms by pillars or walls. A house is to have three, five or seven rooms.

461-2. The house is to be broken at eight places for doors. Two doors in each of the four sides are efficacious in giving wealth and children to men. (?)

463-4. The doors must be placed there, and not anywhere else. But windows in each room may be placed according to one's liking.

[6]465-6. One should not have a door just obstructed by the door of another's house, or a tree, an angle, a pillar, a road, a stand, or a well.

467. Obstructions to roads must not be at the gate of a palace or a temple. (?)

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[1] It is easy to understand why all these houses are to be strong, well built and well protected सुगुप्त। They are to be of constant use to them, and some of them are the stores and magazines. And the necessity for making them सुमनोहरान् or magnificent arises from the fact that these being signs and indications of the ruler's wealth and position are likely to be visited by friends, guests and sight-seers. The other houses need not be so well decorated and beautiful as they are for private purposes and hence not worth visiting.

The peculiarity in this account is that it mentions not only the school-room, the temple, the gymnasium, the store-house and the magazine but also almost all such buildings as may be necessary to men for the ordinary affairs of life.

[2] This statement giving the king an option to follow any order seems to indicate that the philosopher's own prescriptions as to the selection of the sides for the various buildings are based on logical principles regarding health or convenience.

[3] Having in ll. 435-55 described the palace, the author suggests the site of other buildings, but mentions only two.

शिल्पशाला—Hall of Arts, a workshop or a museum.

[4] Here is a bit of civil engineering.

भित्ति—Wall, विस्तार—Length.

उच्छ्राय—Height, कोष्ठ—room.

Height of the wall = $1\frac{1}{5}$ of the length.

Width of the wall = $\frac{1}{6}$ of the interior of the room.

[5] भूमि—floor.

[6] The difficulties arising from having these things just in the front of a door may be easily imagined.

[1]468-9. The floor of the room is to be made one-fourth of the height. But others say that in the cases of palaces and temples it should be one-half.

470. The window also must not be obstructed by another man's window.

[2]471-2. The roof made of tiles is to be high in the middle to the extent of half of the length. So that water falling on it may go down easily.

473. The roof should not be weak or low, so also the floor of the room.

[3]474-75. The wall of the town is to be uniform in depth and should have its foundation to the extent of one-half of its height or one-third of its height and have its width one-half of its height.

[4]476. The wall must be made so high as not to be jumped across by robbers.

[5]477. The wall is to be always guarded by watchmen each for three hours and to be provided with guns.

[6]478-9. The wall should have many strong shrubs and have a system of well-built windows, and if a hill is not hard by, should have a *pratiprâkâra* or a second wall but less than itself in height.

480-1 Thence the ditch is to be constructed, having its width double the depth, not very near the rampart, and having plenty of water.

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[1] गृहपीठ floor.
Sukrâchâryya's civil engineering :
Floor = ¼ the height of ordinary rooms.
= ½ the height of palaces and *mandapas*.

[2] छाद.—roof. खर्पर—tiles.
मध्योच्चा—High in the middle. The conical shape of a tiled roof is well known.

[3] प्राकार- A technical term for the wall of a city or a fort not the walls of ordinary rooms or buildings.

मूल Foundation depth, समूलक uniform in depth प्रविस्तार width or breadth.

The following is the measurement suggested : Depth of foundation = ½ the height, or ⅓ the height.

Width of wall = ½ the height.

[4] The height of the wall has reference to the activities of dacoits, a practical suggestion.

[5] नालिकास्त्र—Guns.

[6] All these are conditions for strengthening the wall.

प्रणाली—system or row. Windows through which the outside could be observed and missiles thrown without much injury to the life and property from the weapons of the enemies.

प्रतिप्राकार—The erection of a second wall but less high स्वहीन is necessary where the main wall has not the advantage of protection by a hill.

[1]482-3. It is not good for a king to live in a fort unattended by men who are proficient in the art of warfare and unprovided with the secret instruments and preparations. Such a life (*i.e.*, without military men and provisions) is for capture (of the king).

484-5. The Council House is to be constructed by the king beautiful and strong and divided into three, five or seven rooms.

[2]486-8. The northern and southern sides are to be long, twice or thrice the eastern and western sides according to liking and the house may be built with one floor or two floors or three floors, and having tents as houses on the top.

489. The Council House is to have windows in each room on all sides.

[3]490. The width of the central room is to be double that of the side rooms.

491-2. The height of the hall is to be one-fifth more than its width or is to be equal to it.

493(?). The floor as well as roof of the rooms are also to be constructed.

494. The two side rooms have each two floors but the central (*i.e.*, the hall) is to be of one floor.

495. The Council House is to be a beautiful edifice having good rooms within separate pillars and accessible by all routes.

[4]496-8. The Council House is to be furnished with instruments for throwing water upwards, musical instruments, instruments for distributing air and also for indicating time, mirrors as well as pictures.

499. Such a Council House is for the deliberations of proposals and consideration of problems.

500-1. Dwelling Houses for ministers, clerks, members of Council and officers should be built separately to the north or east.

502-3. Leaving a space of 100 cubits towards the north and 200 cubits towards the east of the palace, military cantonments are to be laid out.

504-5. The wise king should provide for the houses of the people in order of wealth and birth near his palace in all directions.

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[1] सम्भार—provisions, necessary preparations.

[2] उपकार्य्या Tents.

[3] The Hall is to have twice the space of the other rooms.

[4] Pumps, fans and clocks are referred to here.

[1]544-5. Asking these questions the master of the rest-house should note them down and in the evening having taken away the traveller's arms should advise him "Take sleep carefully."

546-7. Having counted the number of men in the house and shut its gate, he should have it watched by the guards working for three hours each, and awaken the men in the morning.

[2]548-9. He should give back the arms, count the men and then let them off by opening the gate and accompany them up to the boundary line.

550. The king living in the capital city should discharge his daily duties.

551-4. Having got up in the last *yâma* he should for two *muhûrtas* study the following points:—How much is the fixed income and how much the certain expenditure? How much has been used out of the things and materials in the Treasury? What is the remainder after the transactions from the fixed Income and Expenditure?

555-6. Then ascertaining from the record as well as by personal knowledge as to the amount expected to be spent to-day he should bring the articles out of the Treasury.

557. Then for one *muhûrta* the clearing of bowels and bathing are prescribed.

558-9. He should take two *muhûrtas* in prayers, study and charity, and one *muhûrta* at dawn in exercises over elephants, horses and carriages.

560. He should pass one *muhûrta* in giving away prizes.

The fact that there should be such rest-houses between the *grâmas* is itself an indication of the considerable development of social life and the high sense of duty towards strangers and guests. And the nature of the queries as well as the principles of administration of these *serais* leave no doubt as to the organising capacity and administrative ability of the ancient Hindus. Even if such complex regulations for their administration are considered to be the products of the philosopher's brain he must be credited with a good amount of political wisdom and a sound knowledge of the art of good and strong government.

[1] The record kept by the शालाधिप would thus be a very good statistics of information about merchants, merchandise, hermits, tourists, strangers, guests, their permanent addresses, position in society and the mission of their journeys. These registers might be valuable materials for the construction of a history of some of the most vital aspects of Indian socio-political life.

[2] The account is rather incomplete because nothing is mentioned about the meals the travellers take during the night. As described above, the rest-houses are meant to be used only during the night and seem to be more like police stations than anything else. The whole method of superintendence and administration points emphatically to this.

561-2. He should spend four *muhûrtas* over writing orders, together with estimates of income and expenditure about grains, clothes, gold, jewels, and soldiers.

563. He should peacefully take his meals with kith and kin for one *muhûrta*.

564. He should observe old and new things for one *muhûrta*.

565-6. Then he should spend two *muhûrtas* over matters explained by Chief Justices and officers; and the same period in hunting and gambling.

567-9. He should spend one *muhûrta* over the military exercises of the regiments, then one *muhûrta* in evening prayers, one *muhûrta* in dinner, two *muhûrtas* in hearing informations given by the secret spies, and eight *muhûrtas* in sleep.

570. Happiness increases to the king who works in this way.

[1]571-2. Dividing the day and night thus into thirty *muhûrtas* he should pass the time, but never waste it in enjoying women and drinking.

[2]573-4. The work done at the time appointed for it is certain (to produce good results). Thus rains in time give rise to plenty, but otherwise are highly injurious.

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[1] 30 मुहूर्त =60 दण्ड =24 hours.

The following is the king's time-table and routine of daily work :—

2 *Muhurtas*—Studying the Budget.
1 „ —Lavatory and Bath.
2 „ —Religious performances.
1 „ —Exercises, physical.
1 „ —Distribution of prizes.
4 „ —Business with the chief of granaries.
1 „ —Dinner and rest.
1 „ —Study of old and new.
2 „ —Consultation with Justices.
2 „ —Hunting, &c.
1 „ —Parade of troops.
1 „ —Evening Services.
1 „ —Supper.
2 „ —Business with spies.
8 „ —Sleep.

30 *Muhûrtas*.

[2] A commonplace lesson on the advantages of keeping to time, illustrated by an analogy with one of the most characteristic physical and economic features of India.

[1]575-7. The king adept in the use of kind words and proficient in the rules of morality and etiquette should have the offices of work guarded on all sides and without cease by four, five or six excellent watchmen well trained in the use of arms and weapons.

578. The daily affairs of those places he should hear through the head clerks (chief officers).

579. He should rotate the watchmen every day.

[2]580. The out-post should be built by the police at the mouth or end of the line of houses.

[3]581. The king should hear reports of their work from them who are to be maintained by wages raised from the householders.

[4]582-3. The sentinel should carefully examine those who go out of the *grâma* and those who come into it and let them out after they have paid some security.

[5]584. But those who are of known, *i.e.*, illustrious deeds and character he should allow without consideration.

[6]585-6. For the prevention of thieves and bad characters the watchmen should at night visit the *beethis* every half *yâma* (*i.e.*, hour and a half).

[7]587. The following laws are to be always promulgated by the king among his subjects :

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[1] अभितः on all sides, अनिशं having no night or end, *i.e.*, permanently. नति bending, bowing, etiquette, &c.

[2] द्वार Police stations, out-posts of sentinels.

[3] The police is to be paid out of taxes collected from the people for whom it has been stationed. An application of the principle of local taxation for local purposes.

[4] लग्नक Security. The administration of the village police as well as the superintendence of rest-houses for travellers indicate the vast and intricate system of public espionage that was in force. Besides, there was the Secret Service Department.

[5] Searching inquiries about strangers and ordinary men necessary. But men of name and fame should not be made to submit to this Criminal Investigation. There was thus room for judicious discretion.

[6] पर्य्यटन Rounds of the sentinels.

[7] Having described the village police the author is going to give an account of some of the social, moral, sumptuary and other laws that the king should pass for the guidance of his subjects.

[1]588-9. Towards the slaves and servants, towards the wife and children or towards the disciple no one obeying my command should be harsh and cruel in words.

[2]590-2. ? Falsehoods must not be practised by anyone with regard to the system and standard of weights and measurements, currency, extracts, some kinds of metals, ghee, honey, milk, fat, oil, ground substances and other things.

[3]593. Nor must writings (or statements) be forced, bribes be accepted, or the interests of the master consciously damaged.

[4]595-6. You should never keep screened, *i.e.*, give protection to, men of wicked activities, thieves, bad characters, malicious and offensive persons, as well as other wrong-doers.

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[1] This is a law enjoining kind treatment of inferiors by superiors, *e.g.*, the employees by the employer, the servant by the master, the wife by the husband, the sons by the father, and the pupils by the Guru. Three classes of social and domestic relations are mentioned here :—(1) Service, (2) The Family, (3) The School. And as in each case the head is a single individual like the patriarch and likely to be tyrannical, the importance of kind words and gentle treatment cannot be overestimated. These, however, are not left to the individual's own sense of humanity and justice. The State itself, according to Śukrâchâryya, should issue definite decrees.

मद्देशसंस्थितैः By those who live under my jurisdiction or commands.

[2] तुला Weights and measures. शासन system, मान standard, नाणक coins, वसा fats, कूट falsehood, deceit, *e.g.*, adulteration in some cases, counterfeiting in others.

Śukrâchâryya's comprehensive view grasps almost all the economic transactions which are liable to the practice of dishonesty and deceit, and which it has been the function of the Society and the State to guard against on hygienic, economic, moral and political grounds in all times and ages.

Here, again, as in the above cases of social and domestic relations, Śukrâchâryya does not advocate the policy of *Laissez faire*. The State should come forward and intervene and protect the society from the dangers of food adulteration, false and counterfeit coins, unscientific medicinal extracts and other preparations as well as the passing off of base metals for genuine and high class things. The following are the five classes of commodities regarding which such crimes are likely to be perpetrated :—

(1) Weights and measures (2) Coins (3) Medicines (4) Metals (5) Food substances.

[3] These are more or less administrative and political regulations different from the above which are mainly of social and economic nature.

स्वाम्यकार्यविलोभन Just as the master has been ordered to be kind and lenient towards his employees, so the employees are here commanded not to forget or wilfully damage and consciously injure the interests of their masters.

[4] [illegible] hidden, screened. It is the duty of the people not only not to commit these wrongs, but also to hand over to the police, or otherwise disclose to the State the existence of the men who are in any way undesirable to the society and the kingdom. The whole society is thus enjoined to be an active information-and-vigilance-committee and an association for public safety.

[1] 597-8. Insult and jokes should never be dealt out towards the parents and other respectable seniors, as well as towards the men of learning and virtuous character.

[2] 599-600. Discord must never be created between husband and wife, master and servant, brother and brother, preceptor and pupil, as well as between father and sons.

[3] 601-2. You must never obstruct the tanks, wells, parks, boundaries or place hindrances to the use of religious houses, temples and roads, nor must you check (the movements of) the poor, the blind and the deformed.

[4] 603-8. Without the permission of the king the following things are not to be done by the subjects:—gambling, drinking, hunting, use

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Here, as in other injunctions, Śukrâchâryya displays the highest political wisdom and the keenest insight into the principles of strong and good government. All these are based on the principle that the security of the State depends not on the passive virtue of obedience to the laws promulgated by it but on the active co-operation of the people with it in carrying these laws into effect. Śukrâchâryya's political system has many points which have anticipated the latest principles of good administration and which have yet to be realised by modern States.

[1] These are rules regulating conduct towards superiors in age, intelligence and character, and supplement those discussed above regarding the treatment of inferiors by superiors. The king, according to Śukranîti, has to enjoin the duties of the son, the disciples and the people generally, because as the head of the State he is also the head of the society and hence the guardian of religion and morality—a principle recognised in all monarchies.

[2] This is a further law of the State regarding social and moral interests of the people. The greatest of all dangers to social peace and political security is the existence of conflicts, disunions, rivalry and party spirit. The bond of civil society is torn asunder when the moral relations are disturbed. Hence the greatest political offender and the most criminal sinner is he who by his conduct promotes the breach between those who should normally live in amity and peace. And Śukranîti provides against such offences by the socio-political decree issued by the king.

[3] This is a law preventing undue use or abuse of the public places and other works of public utility, and as such indicates, in the first place, the highly complex administrative organisation to be followed by the king, and secondly, the vast number of such temples and parks, wells and roads scattered throughout the kingdom that necessitated the passing of a separate law or at any rate their consideration as an important item of the public interests of the State. The rule regarding the disabled and the unfortunates is purely humanitarian.

[4] Here is a mention of all those practices and professions which for public safety, social peace and future interests of the parties concerned should be endorsed by the State, and receive a royal patent, charter or license to testify to their *bona fide* character. In all these cases the State, according to Śukranîti, must interfere even on the principle of "individualistic minimum." However highly philosophers and theorists might praise the principles of let-alone and non-intervention in social affairs, statesmen and pillars of States have uniformly adopted in practice the principles of socialistic

of arms, sales and purchases of cows, elephants, horses, camels, buffaloes, men, immovable property, silver, gold, jewels, intoxicants and poisons, distillation of wines, the drawing up of deeds indicating a sale, gift, or loan, and medical practice.

[1] 609-12. Nor should you ever do the following things:—Serious cursing, acceptance of pledges, promulgation of new social rules, defamation of castes, receipt of unowned and lost goods, disclosure of State secrets, and discussion about the king's demerits.

[2] 613-6. So also you must never even in mind commit the following actions:—Forsaking your own religion, untruth, adultery, perjury, forgery,

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interference, and been compelled to enlarge the functions of their States even against their own abstract conceptions. The hoary Śukrâchâryya and the modern Sidgwick are here on a common ground.

द्यूतं—Gambling, all those plays on which money wagers are staked. Interests of public safety require that there should be a limit to these practices. Hence the necessity of royal licenses.

मद्यपानं—Drinking is also to be controlled by some such law as penalises the purchase or possession of more than a fixed quantity. मद्यसंसाधन—preparation of wines in breweries and distilleries has also to be licensed.

मृगया—There are Game Laws in every civilised State. The preservation of games and the preservation of forests have become in these days the accepted principles of scientific administration. Hence sportsmen must carry licenses.

क्रय—These deeds must receive royal sanction, for the agreements or contracts might contain some inhuman or immoral or illegal items, and hence have to be registered in order that they may be valid.

चिकित्सं—Licences to medical practitioners and druggists and chemists.

In reading an account of these laws one seems to be skipping over the pages of the penal and criminal codes of modern States. These and other regulations point to the remarkably analytical study of legal and juristic problems and the highly developed system of jurisprudence.

शस्त्रधारणं—Unlicensed arming is prohibited.

The following are the classes of licensable affairs:—

(1) Gambling, (2) Drinking, (3) Distillation, (4) Sports, (5) Arming, (6) Trade in—(*a*) Cattle, (*b*) Men, (*c*) Land, (*d*) Metals, (*e*) Spirituous liquors, (*f*) Poisons, (7) Deeds of contracts regarding—(*a*) Sales, (*b*) Gifts, (*c*) Loans, (8) Medical Profession.

नृणां—Trade in men, sales and purchases of slaves are referred to as one of the licensable affairs.

[1]—The specially noteworthy rules in this somewhat miscellaneous regulation are about नवसमाजनियम or new social regulations, and जातिदूषणं or defamation of castes. It seems that no new custom or breach of the existing system was allowed to the people except through royal assent. And perhaps it was an offence to speak ill of the lower castes.

[2]—कूट False, अप्रकाश प्रतिग्रह Bribes (hidden receipts). These lines may be regarded as forming something like a Hindu Decalogue or the Ten Commandments of the Hindus:

(1) Thou must not forsake your own duty in life,

(2) Thou must not tell lies,

secret acceptance of gifts, realisation of more than the fixed revenue, thieving, violence and enterprise against the master.

[1] 617-18. You should never commit violence (or aggression) on anybody in the matter of remuneration, duties or revenues by increasing them through sleight or strength.

[2] 619. All measurements have been definitely fixed and ascertained by the king.

620. All the subjects should try to be qualified in the performance of meritorious actions.

621. When a violence has been committed the aggressor must be caught and handed over (to the State).

[3] 622. Those who have let out bulls and other animals (after religious observances) must keep them within proper control.

[4] 623-24. I will surely destroy by severe punishment those offenders who after hearing these my decrees would act contrary to them.

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(3) Thou must not commit adultery.
(4) Thou must not bear false witness.
(5) Thou must not forge.
(6) Thou must not accept bribes.
(7) Thou must not extort more than what is due unto you.
(8) Thou must not steal.
(9) Thou must not oppress (or commit violence).
(10) Thou must not rebel (or commit perfidy).

Śukraniti is as much a text-book of Ethics as of Political Science.

[1]—आधर्षणं, —aggression, शुल्क—duties, rates, taxes. This law prohibits exactions and undue enhancements of payments from the master in the shape of increased wages or salary, from the merchants in the shape of augmented excise and customs, and from the subjects in the shape of exorbitant revenues. Rates in all these cases must not be increased by threats of physical violence or by crafts of diplomacy.

[2] परिमाण—Standard of measurement for lands.
उन्मान—Unit of measurement for liquids.
मान—Unit of measurement for grains.
विसुद्रितं—Ascertained and fixed.

Realisations should be made in the above cases according to the fixed rates in the schedules published by the State.

[3] These animals must not be allowed to destroy public property or otherwise damage the peoples' interests.

This is a peculiar Hindu custom, *viz.*, the consecration (उत्सृष्ट) of bulls and other animals to the gods. But the State enjoins that those who would observe this socio-religious custom must be responsible for the movements of the animals in the interests of the society at large.

[4]—Here comes the legal sanction of the social, economic, moral and political duties enumerated above. A careful study of the functions of the State as suggested by the promulgation of these laws would lead to the conviction that the Hindus were not only a nation of dreamers and philosophers, but were practical men who understood their secular and temporal interests as keenly and knew how to protect and develop

[1] 625-6. The king should always inform the subjects of those laws by the State drum and also place them in esplanades as written notices.

627-8. To the wicked people as well as to the enemies the king should ever be ready with punishments. The subjects are to be protected by the king according to Nîti.

[2] 629-30. For the convenience of travellers the king should protect the roads. And those who are oppressors of travellers must be very carefully repressed.

[3] 631-5. The heads of the *grâmas* are to receive one-twelfth of the income from the *grâma*. The army is to be maintained by three

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them as wisely as any other nation that has contributed to the material civilisation of humanity. Comparing the political theories and practices among the Hindus with those obtaining among other nations that have risen to the height of political consciousness and have in any considerable degree wielded the machinery called the State, one is forced to hold that, after all, the test of political wisdom and statesmanship is in the capacity to promote the interests of man and devise ways and means for their furtherance, that there is great truth in the couplet—

> "For forms of government let fools contest
> Whatever is best administered is best."

It is an error to suppose that the Hindus were a "pre-political" and "pre-economic" people or even that they were an essentially non-political or non-economic race. Political insight, the study of public interests, solicitations for material prosperity and discussions about the common weal must have been integral features of Hindu national life in order that it might evolve such conceptions of order and notions of political organisation as we have been describing here.

[1] In order to prevent the possibility of the pleading of ignorance of laws the greatest publicity has to be given to them. Two means are suggested—(1) The beating of the State drum to announce the royal orders and (2) The Proclamations written down and stuck as posters in public places such as squares, the crossings of streets, &c.

[2] Roads must always be maintained in good condition and free from the aggression of robbers and cheats. The purpose is also mentioned—पान्थसुखाय *i.e.*, for the convenience of travellers and passengers.

[3] Six divisions of the annual expenditure are here suggested. The appropriations of the income to several purposes are to be in the following proportion :—

Grâmapa	...	$\frac{1}{12}$	of the income.
Army	...	$\frac{3}{12}$	,,
Charity	...	$\frac{1}{24}$	,,
People	...	$\frac{1}{24}$	,,
Officers	...	$\frac{1}{24}$	,,
Personal	...	$\frac{1}{24}$	,,
Six items of expenditure	...	$\frac{12}{24}$	or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the income.

The annual deposit of the surplus is therefore to be $\frac{1}{2}$ of the income.

(such parts), charity (to be done to the extent of) half (of such a part), the people are to be entertained) with half (of such a part), the officers (are to be paid) with half (of such a part), personal expenditure (to be met) out of half (of such a part). And the treasury is to be saved by the remainder. By dividing the income into six such divisions the king should yearly incur expenditure.

636. This rule is meant for and should be observed by rulers like *Sâmanta* and above, not by inferiors.

637-8. There should be no inactivity in the preservation of acquired kingdoms, fame, celebrity, wealth and qualifications, and also in winning these from others.

[1] 639-41. One should always be very mindful about acquisition and preservation, and never abandon heroism, scholarship, plain speaking, and philanthropy. The king (should be mindful) about strength, prowess and daily preparation for war.

642-3. That man is a *Śûra* who, giving up fear for his own life, can securely fight in battles for his own interest or for the cause of his master.

[2] 644-5. That man is a *Paṇḍit* who can accept without partiality even the well spoken words of a child, and practises the truths of religion.

[3] 646-7. The man who even in the presence of a king can fearlessly speak out his demerits and never praises them like merits is the real speaker.

648-9. The man to whom there is nothing to be kept back from gift, *e.g.*, wife, son and wealth, who can give away even his life to the proper person is called a *Dâtâ* or giver.

650. That is called *Bala* or strength by which a work can be done without anxiety.

651. *Parâkrama* or prowess is that through which other princes appear to be mere *kinkaras* or obedient servants.

[4] 652. *Utthâna* is known to be the preparation for warfare.

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[1] Each of these qualifications is explained below.

[2] Two conditions make a *Paṇḍit* : (1) intellectual. He must be honest and unprejudiced enough to discuss with anybody and accept logical truths wherever received, (2) Moral. He must be a man of virtuous deeds.

[3] वक्तृता Not oratory or elocution, but plain and honest speaking of the truths. Thus not an intellectual but a moral qualification is expressed by the word as used in the treatise.

[4] उत्थान A technical term for what is known as mobilisation or state of military readiness in view of an imminent war.

[1] 653. For fear of poisons the King should examine his food through monkeys and cocks.

654-57. At the very sight of poisoned food drakes limp (*i.e.*, cannot walk), bees hum, peacocks dance, cocks cry, cranes get intoxicated, monkeys pass stools, rats become excited, birds (*Maina*) vomit. Thus the food is to be examined.

[2] 658-59. He should take meals, having six, not simply two or three, tastes, not tasteless, nor over-tasteful, not pungent, not excessively sweet or acid.

660. He should hear with the ministers the petitions and appeals of the people.

661-62. In parks (and places of entertainment) he should carefully indulge in enjoyments with the people, women, actors, musicians, poets and magicians.

[3] 663-64. He should every morning and evening exercise himself with elephants, horses, chariots and other conveyances. And he should learn as well as teach the military arrangements of soldiers.

665-66. He should sport with tigers, peacocks, birds and other animals of the forest and in the course of the hunting should kill the wild ones.

[4] 667-69. The advantages of hunting are the growth of ability to strike the aim, fearlessness, and agility in the use of arms and weapons, but cruelty is the great defect.

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[1] From the very great precaution advised against indiscriminate use of food it would appear that poisoning of foods meant for kings or members of the royal family and of men of wealth and position generally was one of the prominent social evils of the times. For this we have an analogy in the Italian society of the Fifteenth Century.

In the next lines the author is describing the process of testing the food and the indications by which its purity is to be determined by narrating the effects of poison upon some of the domestic animals.

[2] A mixed diet is recommended. There must be no preponderance of any one taste.

षड्रस The six flavours or tastes are sweet, salt, pungent, bitter, sour and astringent.

[3] Military exploit and other physical exercises are described here. The king must never be without military training.

व्यूह Array of soldiers, formation of groups.

[4] **लक्ष्यसन्धानसाधनं** Which is instrumental (**साधन**) in striking or hiting (**सन्धान**) the objective or aim (**लक्ष्य**).

In a previous part these military and manly exercises were mentioned as two important items of the daily routine of work. The author is here explaining his reason for making them an integral part of the king's life.

[1] 670-73. He should every night hear from the secret spies and informers the opinions, sentiments and demonstrations of the subjects and officers, the Departments of administration, enemies, soldiers, members, relatives, and the females of the inner apartments.

674. He should do that carefully and well equipped with arms and weapons note down (the statements of the spies).

675-76. The king who does not punish the false-speaking spy becomes the destroyer of the people's persons and properties and is called *Mlechcha.*

[2] 677-78. The king should examine the spy (and test his efficiency) either directly or by some art after he has assumed the garb of a religious student, of one practising penance, a hermit, lower class men or a magician.

679-80. If the king accepts a spy without testing him in the above way, he can get no information and has to repent. And the spy also does not fear to speak untruth to a king who does not examine him.

[3] 681. He should protect the spy from both officers and the departments of administration.

[4] 682-83. There should ever be only one leader in a State, never many. And the king should never try to leave any situation without a leader.

[5] 684-85. If in the king's family there be many males, the eldest among them is to be king, the others are to be his assistants and auxiliaries.

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[1] इङ्गित Sentiment. चेष्टितं Activities, demonstrations, manifestations.

मतं Opinions, approved measures.

अधिकारिणां Of men appointed as officers, प्रकृतीनां The Departments of State.

[2] वर्णि Religious student. सिद्ध Magician.

[3] The following are the rules about the administration of espionage :—

(1) The king should hear from the spies at night.

(2) He should be well-protected while in their presence.

(3) He should examine them, before appointment, as to their capacity and honesty.

(4) He should punish them when dishonest but carefully protect them during their period of work.

[4] This is a general principle about all kingdoms. Evils of many leaders were not unknown.

'No leaders' would mean anarchy. So the rule of One is the only normal form according to Śukranîti. Śukrâchâryya's system does not recognise a form of government in which sovereignty rests with the Many.

[5] According to the principle of the rule of One the law of primogeniture must obtain in the matter of succession to the crown.

(?)686. More than all other assistants these members of the aristocracy help forward the interests of the State.

687-88. If the eldest, however, is deaf, leprous, dumb, blind or eunuch he will not be eligible for the throne, the king's brother, or the eldest son's son (will be eligible).

689. And the eldest son's junior (*i.e.*, the king's second son) or the son of the king's brother will get the throne.

690. In the absence of seniors the juniors are heirs to the throne.

[1]691-92. Unity of opinion among the heirs (or sharers) is good for the king. Differences among them are dangerous to both the State and the family.

[2]693-94. Hence the king should arrange for these heirs the same kind of comforts and enjoyments as for himself, and should be strict in command (to the servants) in satisfying them with umbrellas and thrones.

[3]695-96. By the partition of kingdoms there can arise no good. Rather, the kingdom divided into parts is exposed to the enemies.

[4]697-98. He should station them in various quarters by paying them one-fourth of the royal revenues or make them governors of provinces.

699. He may appoint them as the heads of cows, elephants, horses, camels, treasure, &c.

700. The mother and the lady who is of the same rank as the mother should be appointed in charge of the kitchen.

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[1] दायाद Receivers of shares, heirs.

The conflict between possible heirs is the great defect of all conditions where hereditary monarchy prevails, and the difficulty is felt both in kingdoms as well as duchies or non-regal jurisdictions. Partition suits, civil wars, quarrels between sons, nephews and uncles intensified by rivalries between ministers, pretender's claims are the natural phenomena where possessions come down on the domestic system. Hence the danger both to the territory as well as the family. Both are involved in the common ruin.

[2] The possible heirs who in their self-interest cannot but look upon the existing king as well as his direct successor as rivals and natural enemies and who would gain rather than lose anything in their deaths, must be maintained in the right royal style so that they may not take umbrage at any carelessness on the part of officers of the royal household.

[3] जिघृक्षति Wants to seize or capture.

This, again, is a sound advice. In politics, as in other affairs, union is strength and disunion is fall. The evil of small kingdoms has been sufficiently indicated in these lines regarding leaders, and succession.

[4] The members of the royal family who may legally hope to get throne in default of heirs, should be pacified by the grant of pensions or appointment as officers under the State, *e.g.*, chiefs and governors of the districts. Something like a Feudal system is thus to be introduced by establishing a hierarchy of officials from among the members of the royal blood,

[1] 701. Cognate kinsmen and brothers-in-law are to be ever appointed in the Military Department.

702. Critics of one's own faults are to be made those who are superiors and friends.

703-4. The females are to be appointed in the overseeing of clothes, ornaments and vessels.

But he himself must reflect upon and seal all in succession.

[2] 705-6. He should consult with ministers on future actions in some secret place, *e.g.*, the inner apartments of the house, cleared forests, by day or by night.

707-8. He should discuss royal duties with friends, brothers, sons, relatives, commanders and members in the Council House.

[3] 709-10. In the centre of the western half of the meeting the royal throne is to be placed. The bodyguard and retinue are to sit by his right and left.

[4] 711-12. The sons, sons' sons, brothers, nephews, daughters' sons are to sit at his back in succession, proceeding from the right towards the left.

[5] 713-14. Uncles, superiors of the same family, members and commanders are to sit in the front on separate seats at the right hand moving towards the east.

[6] 715-16. Superiors in the family of maternal grandfather, ministers, cognate relations, fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, and officers are to sit in the front at the left hand (moving towards the east).

717-18. The son-in-law and brother-in-law are to sit just on the left and right sides. And the friend is to be like him, either near or on half of his own seat.

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[1] बान्धव "A distant or cognate kinsman, and subsequent in right of inheritance to the gentile or *sagotra* ; the *bandhu* is of three kinds—

(1) The kinsman of the person himself,

(2) The kinsman of the person's father, as his father's brother's son,

(3) The kinsman of the person's mother, as his mother's sister's or brother's son ; and the same reckoning upwards, *e.g.*, his father's father's sister's son."--Wilson.

[2] वेश्म Room.

[3] कोष्ठ "Any viscus, as the heart, lungs, stomach, bowels."—Wilson. It may thus mean a part of the body, a side. So पार्श्व and कोष्ठ refer almost to the same thing. And those who go by पार्श्व and कोष्ठ of the king may thus be roughly described as *Aid-de-camps*, *Bodyguards*, Attachés or *Retinue*, &c.

[4] Thus the sons are to take the seats on extreme right wing and the daughter's sons those on the extreme left wing of the back.

[5] These persons are to sit before him in a row proceeding from the west to the east on his right-hand side.

[6] This is also likely to be a row proceeding from the west to the east. The two rows would thus face each other.

719. In the place of daughter's sons and nephews the adopted sons may be seated, and nephews and daughters' sons may have seats of the sons.

720. The *Âchâryya* or preceptor, like the father, is to sit on the same kind of good seats.

(?)720. On both sides and in the front the scribes and clerks are to be at the back of the ministers.

721. The servants are to be seated at the back of all.

722. Two men bearing gold sceptres are to be on one side to communicate the presence and salutation (of persons) to the king.

[1] 725-27. The king should enter upon the throne provided with his special signs, well-dressed, well-decorated, armoured, with the crown on, with effective missiles and uncovered weapons, and very careful.

[2] 728-29. "Thou art the greatest of all *Dâtâs* (charitable men) and *Śûras* (heroes)"—such remarks he should not hear. Those who speak in this way are deceitful men.

[3] 730-31. The ministers are likely to be dumb (*i.e.*, silent) through the passions, cupidity and fear of the king. The king should not consider them friends for his own interest.

[4] 732-33. The king should receive in written form the opinions of each separately with all his arguments, compare them with his own opinion and then do what is accepted by the many.

[5] 734-35. The wise king should every day examine the elephants, horses, chariots, cattle, servants, officers, provisions, and soldiers, and preserve or maintain the able and give up the very old.

[6] 736. He should bring in one day news of places hundred *crośas* distant.

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[1] अस्त्र arms which have to be thrown, missiles. सिद्ध Unerring, effective.

[2] This is a precaution against flattery and the temptation to hear praises.

[3] With regard to the minister, the king should not act upon the principle "Silence gives consent," for there may be due motives for their silence.

[4] The king must have his own opinion on the top; then the individual opinions of the ministers with their reasons he will invite in a written form. The final decision will rest with him. The principle of acceptance is supplied by the rule of majority.

[5] The king is always to have in his service competent and able-bodied men and animals, as well as effective and useful materials (सम्भार). Hence the necessity of daily examination.

[6] Conveyance of news is a great part of political life and the king is advised to have a swift Postal Service. The Post must be quick enough to carry the news of two hundred miles in the course of one day. If such arrangements could be practically made one of the most important means of modern administration must have been secured.

[1] 737(?)-39. He should train the officers appointed with salaries in the cultivation of all the arts, and having seen that they have finished their studies, should appoint them in their special fields.

[2] 740. He should also honour those every year who are very high in arts and sciences.

[3] 741. The king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country.

742-43. The king should engage near him the services of the soldiers who are to precede and follow him, gaudily dressed, adept in the rules of etiquette and morality and supplied with useful missiles and naked weapons.

[4] 744. The king should tour the city on the back of elephants in order to please the people.

[5] 745-46. Does not even the dog look like a king when it has ascended a royal conveyance? Is not the king justly looked upon as a dog by the poets?

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[1] This is the special arrangement for the training of officers.

भृतिपोषितान् Scholarship-holders and stipendiaries. In this case the two lines would imply that the king should maintain students with scholarships for the study of the various branches of learning, and when they have been sufficiently educated, should appoint them to proper posts in the Government service. The lines would then refer to the general system of education financed by the State, and the method of giving employments in the State to learned scholars.

[2] Does it refer to the system of annual examinations or recognitions of merit and the awarding of titles, diplomas, prizes to the alumni every year?

[3] Encouragement of education, spread of learning and the development of arts and sciences are regarded as some of the functions of the king. Śukrâchâryya while enumerating the so many social, moral and economic functions in addition to the ordinary political and administrative functions of the State, does not forget the educational activities of what has been called the *Cultur-Staat*.

[4] This, however, is the very means of taking away from the people's minds the notion of "the divinity that hedges the king." Advocates of monarchy generally make a political application of the precept 'Familiarity breeds contempt' by keeping the king as much away from the peoples' gaze and scrutiny as possible and thus shrouding him with transcendental halo and endowing the royal position and affairs with a mystic grandeur. It is one of the many peculiar paradoxes of Hindu sociology that the king who is a god in human form is yet by personal contact and other ways brought within the field of public criticism in such a way as in other countries has led to the gradual devolution of his influence and functions on the Many and the establishment of a Democracy, or at any rate, the Aristocracy.

[5] The king does not look magnificent unless he is attended by the retinue of officers and the regal insignia as well as the paraphernalia. The king alone is no more than a dog, *i.e.*, cannot command awe and reverence of the people.

[1] 747-48. Hence he should be accompanied by his kinsmen, friends, and the State officers who have been made equal to him through qualifications, never by the low class people.

749. The *neecha* or wicked and the *sádhu* and honest are respectively the men whose practices are false and evil, and good.

[2] 750. The wicked people display greater gentleness than the *sádhus*.

[3] 751-52. The king must personally inspect every year the *grâmas*, *puras* or cities, and *deśas* or districts and provinces and must know which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers, and deliberate upon the matters brought forward by the people.

[4] 754. He should take the side not of his officers but of the subjects.

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[1] स्व साम्यप्रापितैः गुणैः by those who have been made to attain प्रापित: equality साम्य with him by dint of qualifications, *i.e.*, meritorious and well-trained.

प्रकृति As a term in Hindu Political treatises means : (1) subjects, (2) the requisites or departments of राष्ट्र which have been mentioned previously to be seven in number, (3) officers, ministers, secretaries, &c.

[2] But the two are to be distinguished by applying the dictum 'All that glitters is not gold.'

[3] Among the many duties of the king, inspection and supervision, by tours through the kingdom, of the work of his officers as well as inquiry into the condition of the subjects have been given a prominent place. He must not be an irresponsible head, but the real controller of affairs and hence must personally study the affairs of the State.

ग्रामाण पुराण देशान् These three terms seem to describe the three principal units of territorial administration like the township, the city and the circle of modern States.

रंजित Satisfied, कर्षित tortured, displeased. The words point to the good or bad effects of administration. तासां तु भतन व्यवहारं विचिन्तयत् should discuss measures (व्यवहार) according to the matters or complaints or petitions (भूत) brought forward by the people. The king's tours must not be nominal. He must be prepared to solve some of the knotty points which may have been left untouched or decided unsatisfactorily or temporarily by the servants. The right of direct petition by the subjects is here, as in other places, definitely recognised.

A monarchy, however divine and absolute in theory, supplies, so far as these and other conditions are mentioned, practically all the advantages of self-rule and government by the Many. The most rigid enforcement of obligations and duties from, side by side with the most lavish grant of rights and privileges to, both the governor and the governed explain the seeming inconsistency and paradox that characterise the Hindu political system, and the great discrepancy between the theoretically despotic and the practically democratic features of the political organisation.

[4] This is a sound political maxim and is based on the observation of the fact that the peoples' interests and opinions do in most cases differ from the report and opinions of the servants of the State. Hence in cases of conflict between the two, the king should take the peoples' point of view.

Happiness of the people is the sole consideration to a king. Hence his interests must ever be identified with those of the people. And in deciding upon measures he should be guided by the truth '*vox populi vox deii.*' Thus though the king is himself a god, the god of the king is the people. And, in fact, the king has been described as their

[1] 755. He should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men.

[2] 756-57. He should privately punish the minister when he is found to have gone astray more than once and dismiss him who by nature commits offences.

[3] 758. Of the rulers who do not act according to Nîti the king should take away both the kingdom as well as all property.

[4] 759. Courts should always be established in the territories of conquered rulers.

[5] 760. He should give pensions to the conquered rulers according to their character.

761-62. He should have as his bedmate a woman who is devoted to him, beautiful, sweet in speech, well-dressed, well-adorned and well purified.

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servant getting remuneration for his work in ll. 375-6, where the peculiar dualism and antithesis in the king's position have been very unhesitatingly indicated.

The combination of sacrifice with enjoyment, the harmonising of *sanyása* and asceticism with *Samsára* and attachments, the intermixture of *Nivritti* or highest spiritual self-realisation with *Pravritti* or pursuit of pleasure in life, the perception of the Infinite in the Finite, and the leavening of duties with rights are, in fact, the permanent and essential features of that transcendental Positivism, that Idealism and Supernaturalism in the interests of the actual and natural, that sense of other-worldliness for the practical good of this world and the happiness of man that characterise the national life and literature, and are embodied in the social institutions, of the Hindus. This eternal antithesis between the human and superhuman is the fundamental bedrock of Hindu Sociology and is never forgotten by poets in their description of ideal kings and great men. It is the basis of the division of Hindu life into the four stages of *Brahmacharyya*, *Gárhasthya*, *Vânaprastha* and *Yati*. The test and touchstone of true greatness among the Hindus are the approximation in life and thought, to such principles as are suggested by the phrases असक्तो सुखमन्वभूत् or 'he enjoyed happiness without attachment,' and कर्म्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन or 'thy right is only to the work, never to the fruits.'

[1] Is it something like Greek ostracism ? This is a sufficient check to the arbitrary or foolish actions of the royal servants. Verily, the voice of the people is the voice of the god.

[2] सकृत् many times. आगस् sin, offences, एकान्ते privately, not in public manner for otherwise people would have no confidence in the minister. As the minister occupies a very important and dignified post, the king should be very careful in scrutinising his affairs so as not to lower him in the estimation of the public.

[3] Confiscation of possessions when dependent rulers are proved to be incompetent, or conquest of territories when neighbouring kings are found to commit wrongs.

[4] The king must never lose time in following up a victory by establishing his offices, courts, palaces in the conquered kingdom विषय in order to make the people feel the fact of conquest and organise the administration of the province in his own way.

He must display his ability not only to acquire, but also to rule and protect.

[5] These lines prescribe the taking over the administration of a badly ruled country and granting maintenance to the dispossessed.

[1] 763. He who sleeps for two *yâmas* (*i.e.*, six hours) enjoys much happiness.

764. He should not leave his own position but conquer the enemies through Nîti.

765. Teeth, nails, hair, and kings do not look well when taken out of their proper situations.

[2] 766. The king should take shelter in the hill-forts in times of great danger, and from those places should try to recover his kingdom by violence and robbery.

[3] 767. Pandits, females and creepers do not flourish without resting grounds.

? 768-70. The king as the robber, should seize from all quarters all the wealth of the enemies for marriage, gifts and sacrifice besides the (?)

[4] 771-72. He should not live for ever in the same place, and never have implicit faith in anybody. He should always be careful but not think of death.

773-74. He must be severe, active and unkind in acts of robbery, should be against attachments to others' wives and violating the daughters of respectable families.

[5] 775-76. If subjects protected as sons become enemies at times, there is no fault of your own activity, that is your luck.

[6] 777-78. Seeing his work end in nothing he should practise penance and go to heaven.

[7] 779. Thus have been narrated in brief the duties of the king. I intend to say more in the Miscellaneous Chapter.

[8] Colophon. This is the First Chapter of *Śukranîti*, the chapter on the Duties of Princes.

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[1] The period of rest as given in that daily routine described above is 8 *muhûrtas* or ¼ of the 24 hours.

[2] समाहरेत् rescue, deliver.

[3] This describes the natural helplessness of these, and by analogy suggests the helplessness of rulers who have been driven out of their own kingdom, unless they can have their hill stations as the basis of operations against the victorious enemies. The necessity of "Protections" for the advancement of learning is also hinted at.

[4] These are the dictates of Diplomacy.

[5] The king should not blame himself for his inactivity or idleness in putting forth energy when he finds that his subjects do not appreciate his paternal care.

[6] सुविफलं thoroughly unsuccessful.

[7] समास brief, condensed form.

[8] अधिकार chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CROWN PRINCE AND OTHER STATE OFFICIALS.

N.B.—References are to lines, not to Slokas.

[1] 1-2. Even if the work be a trifling one it can be done with difficulty by only one individual. What can be performed by an unfriended person for a kingdom that is considerable?

[2] 3-4. Even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a pastmaster in statecraft should never by himself study political interests without reference to ministers.

[3] 5-6. The wise ruler should ever abide by the well-thought-out decisions of councillors, office-bearers, subjects and members attending a meeting—never by his own opinions.

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[1] अल्पतरं—too small, *i.e.*, insignificant, of no importance. This word is contrasted with महोदयं the epithet applied to राज्यं or state.

महोदयं—of great splendour or eminence, *i.e.*, of considerable importance in size and interests. A महोदय kingdom would thus entail heavy responsibility on the king.

किमु – what is to be said, *i.e.*, it goes without saying that a vast and flourishing kingdom cannot be managed by an individual without the aid of assistants.

These two lines introduce the idea of the importance of Councillors and assistants in public affairs and supply the *rationale* of bureaucratic organisations.

[2] नैको—not alone. The king is a god no doubt, but Hindu Sociology does not make him infallible. The limitations are fully recognised, and moral as well as constitutional restraints are imposed upon him as upon other men. The Theory of the Divine Right of Monarchs has therefore to be understood here with great modifications; and the notions of European savants about the infallibility and divinity of Kings and Popes must not be imported into the study of Hindu Socio-political institutions.

अर्थं—a generic term for interests, motives, ends, *i.e.*, whatever minister to the wants of man and satisfy his cravings: here the interests of Society as a political organisation.

सर्वविद्यासु, etc.—Sukrâcháryya like John S. Mill considers the hypothetical case of an all-knowing ruler, and like the great English philosopher of the 18th century discusses his claims for 'absolute' rule in almost the self same way. The physical magnitude, if not anything else, is too much for one man, and hence *one-man-rule*, however well-meaning and beneficent, is positively and unequivocably forbidden.

[3] सभ्य, etc.—Here are mentioned four classes of persons whose opinions should be studied by the ruler before adopting any measure. He is never to pursue his own ideas only. The Hindu monarch can never be arbitrary.

Ancient Hindu statesmen and philosophers placed restraints upon the king not simply by devising rules of morality and social etiquette to be strictly followed by him as by all other men but also by prescribing regular courses of instruction and training as well as by imposing what may be regarded as the positive and direct checks of a constitutional government.

[1] 7-8. The monarch who follows his own will is the cause of miseries, soon gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects.

[2] 9-11. The wealth of intelligence is seen to be different with different men—according to (the various sources of knowledge) revealed wisdom, intuition, knowledge of Śâstras, inferential reasoning, direct observation, analogies, adventurous instincts, craft and force.

[3] 12. There are diversities of human conduct as well as grades of excellence according to the *degree* in which they are high or low.

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[1] Here are mentioned some of the evil effects of arbitrary government and one-man-rule. Three classes of evils are enumerated :—(1) अनर्थ, *i.e.*, the miseries and disasters that may befall a people, *e.g.*, poverty, crime, oppression, etc. (2) The ruler may be deprived of his राष्ट्र Cf. 'cashiering' the king for misconduct. (3) The प्रकृति or subjects generally may rise in rebellion, and there may be general misrule and anarchy all over the land.

So in the interests of himself as well as the nation, to prevent all sorts of disorders in the commonwealth as well personal ignominy and loss, the king should think thrice before making himself sole master and realising the condition implied in the passage 'I am the monarch of all I survey—My right none there is to dispute.'

स्वातन्त्र्य—*i.e.*, the situation in which one is one's own master—the condition of unchartered freedom in which there is nobody to control one's actions and dispute one's rights.

[2] Nine sources of human knowledge are enumerated here—*i.e.*, nine classes of intellectual gifts with which man has been endowed and may be equipped.

पुरुषे पुरुषे, etc.—There are men and men according as the nature and character of the mental outfit are considered, for the ingredients of this intellectual framework are exceedingly varied. And therefore human aptitudes and characteristics are not at all uniform but extremely diverse.

In the first place the *sources* of knowledge are various and the characteristics of men must vary with the kind of illumination they can provide for themselves—direct experience or artifice, jugglery or intuition. In the second place, it is not likely that every man should have at his command *all* these sources of intellectual power. And in the third place, the *proportion* of each possessed by all men is not the same. Nature does not, in fact, repeat itself in the making of man as in its other operations.

अनुभव—Intuitions or inward promptings of the heart.

आप्तवाक्य—the words of those who may be trusted as infallible authorities, because of their character and attainments. आप्त is a technical term in Hindu Philosophy denoting the persons who by their spiritual strength as well as gifts of intellect have attained a position in which they can directly visualise the highest truths of the universe, who are in fact *Rishis* capable of 'seeing' even in spite of spatial or temporal obstructions. Their knowledge may thus be regarded as 'revealed,' it does not come through observation or inference, as that of ordinary men.

अनुमान, etc.—This list of nine kinds of human knowledge contains also the celebrated four methods of truth-investigation in Hindu logic, *e.g.*, आप्त, अनुमान (Inference), प्रत्यक्ष (direct perception) and सादृश्य (*i.e.*, उपमान analogy, similitude &c).

आगम—Text-books of Śâstras, Codes, Scriptures.

Having described the varieties of human intelligence and character, Śukrâchâryya refers in the next line to the varieties of human affairs and relations.

[3] व्यवहार—a technical term, in Hindu Social Sciences, and a most 'chartered' word conveying almost any idea. Here it means affairs, relations, conduct, situations, &c.

[1]13. It is not possible for a single individual to know all these, *i.e.*, the differences in बुद्धिवैभव (or varieties of intellectual gifts) as well as varieties of व्यवहार.

[2]14-18. Hence for the development of the state the ruler should always appoint assistants who are high by birth, attainments and character, who are valorous, devoted and sweet-tongued, who can advise well, and bear pain, who have virtuous habits, and who by the strength of their wisdom can deliver a king who has gone astray, men who are pure, and who have no envy, passions, anger, cupidity and sloth.

[3]19. Owing to bad friends the ruler falls off from his duty as well as from his kingdom.

[4]20-21 The progeny of *Diti* were destroyed through bad associates and evil activities. Valorous and powerful monarchs like *Duryyodhan* also went to the dogs (through bad advisers).

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[1] In l. 3 Śukrâchâryya took the provisional case of an all-knowing monarch. Here he demolishes that hypothesis and rejects altogether the theory that a man may be omniscient for the very nature of the case goes against the idea.

So to the argument of physical magnitude, extensity and vastness of political interests is added that of intellectual weakness and incapability of man. Man cannot be omnipresent, he cannot also be omniscient, and therefore he must never be made omnipotent. Political checks and restraints are to follow immediately upon his natural (physical and intellectual) limitations.

[2] In selecting his assistants and advisers the king should consider the following classes of qualifications: (1) Hereditary—In all social relations, family references weigh considerably in Hindu world. (2) Moral—It is to be seen whether they are free from the ordinary vices of sloth, avarice, etc., and also if their habits of life are religious धर्मरत if they are faithful and devoted to the master's interests and if they are disposed to offering healthy advice. (3) Physical—The assistants must also be painstaking, indefatigable, capable of undergoing strain and pressure of work क्लेशसह as well as bold and courageous शूर. (4) Intellectual—The councillors of kings must be pre-eminent by their wisdom and experience in order that they may be able to dissuade their masters from bad ways of life and conduct. (5) Diplomatic—They are to be प्रियंवद, *i.e.*, of gentle manners, courteous, affable and graceful in deportment, conversation and relations with kings, etc., *i.e.*, they must be perfect masters of etiquette.

भक्त devoted. This is both a moral and a political qualification. Devotion and Faithfulness are virtues not simply of private morality—but are very necessary in public life also; for obedience is the bond of rule, and vote of want of confidence is a serious charge against a minister. निर्मत्सर unenvious.

[3] This line supplies the *sanction* for good selection of ministers. Any body and every body should not be trusted as councillors.

[4] Instances of failure are here culled from the *Puranas* and the *Mahabharata* to prove the evil effects of bad company and injudicious selection of ministers.

बलाधिका:—having considerable prowess. Courage and strength count for nothing if counsels are bad.

[1]22. Hence the ruler should be without pride and should have good friends about him.

[2]23. The Crown-Prince and the Body of Councillors are the hands of a monarch. They are also known to be his eyes and ears, in each case right and left respectively.

[3]25-6. Without these two the ruler would be deprived of his arms, eyes and ears (*i.e.*, without any means of action). Hence he should appoint them on careful considerations. Otherwise there would be great calamity.

[4]26-27. The ruler should select as Crown-Prince the offspring of the legally married wife who can perform the tasks of the state without idleness.

[5]29-31. He may select as Crown-Prince his uncle younger than

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[1] अभिमान—egotism, over-confidence in one's own self. The king should not have too much faith in his own powers but seek the assistance of well-wishers. He should not think it beneath his dignity to be counselled by his friends. Hence the propriety of the term निरभिमान.

[2] The prince is the right hand, right eye and right ear, whereas the Ministers constitute the left hand, left eye and left ear.

The idea that these assistants are the limbs of a ruler was prevalent in the times of Papal Supremacy in mediaeval Europe when the legates, Cardinals, pardoners and other instruments of the Pope were regarded as his hands and eyes, to a certain extent, his representatives and agents in temporal and spiritual affairs of the peoples. The conception is that the rulers project themselves, so to speak, in and through their underlings and associates in order that they may successfully cope with the varied responsibility of big affairs. Like democracy or popular government, monarchy or one-man-rule also has thus to be divided into two classes, *e.g.*, direct and indirect, (*i.e.*, through representatives and agents).

सव्य—left. There is no special significance in assigning right or left place to any of these assistants. Unless it be that the Crown-Prince holds a more dignified position than the officials as the right hand is stronger than the left.

[3] The natural limitations of an individual may be considerably minimised if there are instruments to add to the sense-organs. The King's advisers are such instruments. Their observations, examinations and scrutinies reveal many facts of the political world which without them would have lain in the dark.

[4] तन्द्रा—Idleness.

धर्मपत्नीज—born of धर्मपत्नी. There may be various wives according to the various classes of marriage.

धर्मपत्नी is the wife who is allowed to minister to the celebration of all religious rites.

Two conditions of the Crown-Prince—(1) birth, (2) personal merit; he must be able to discharge the duties.

[5] पुत्रीकृतं—Neither a son nor one who is legally adopted as son; but one who, though not a son, is treated as such.

Eight persons are enumerated from among whom the Crown-prince is to be selected. If there is an uncle (father's brother) who is younger than the reigning king he should be appointed to fill that post. In his absence the next choice is his own younger brother. But if the king happens to have no younger brother, his own elder brother's son is to be Crown-prince. It is only when these three have failed that the claims of his own son come up for consideration. The claims of the adopted child for Crown-princeship are inferior to those of the person who has been treated almost as a son. Then comes the grandson through daughter and lastly the nephew through sister.

himself or younger brother or son of his elder brother, his own son or one treated as son or an adopted child or daughter's son or sister's son, successively according to failure.

[1]32-37. The ruler should not even mentally oppress those persons who are eligible to Crown-princeship for his own benefit.

[2]33-34. The ruler should very carefully protect the virtuous, valourous, faithful and good royal children even though they are young.

[3]35-37. Unless they are well guarded they are likely to be tempted by the interests and to destroy the ruler. Even when governed if they get a slight opening they forthwith kill the protector as lion-cubs kill the elephant (at the first opportunity).

[4]38-39. Royal children are like infuriated elephants without drivers. They kill even the parent, what to speak of the brother or other persons.

[5]40. Even the dullard and the child desire lordship, does not the youth?

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[1] मनसा—The king should not *think* of oppressing and molesting them. Of course the reason is clear. Mild treatment should be dealt out to those who are high by birth and are likely to create factions.

[2] It is one of the first duties of rulers to study the comforts of those persons who belong to the royal family and have 'blue blood' in their veins and who have interests in the state and its affairs. Persons who are entitled to be Crown princes demand special care of the reigning king. He should keep constant and careful watch over them, and while himself impartial, should try to uproot any disloyal or jealous feelings out of their minds.

[3] Members of the royal family are dangerous like lion-cubs. Great caution and diplomacy are required of the ruler in dealing with them. Woe unto the state and king where they are not watched and governed very carefully; for avarice, love of power and ambition will provoke hostilities and lead to anarchy and disorder.

[4] Like elephants run riot the men of royal blood are likely to create havoc in the state. History bears ample testimony to the character of members of royal family described in the last five lines. Quarrel between brother and brother, uncle and nephew, father and sons, are to be eternal facts of domestic life, in fact the natural incidents of family history—so long as man is man. The disadvantages of hereditary monarchy were ever present before the mind's eye of the Hindu political theorists. They did not live in the 'golden age' of peace and harmony but saw the same 'state of nature,' the same strife and discord that has existed through the ages, and that exists to-day. Hence the very elaborate rules about the treatment of and dealings with men belonging to the royal household which the king should make it a point to study punctiliously. The discussion which is rather of a moral and domestic character has therefore an important place in political treatises also, and is certainly relevant in *Sukraniti* which is a treatise on morals social, economic as well as political.

[5] स्म– Sign of the past tense but quite out of place here.

[1]41-42. He should keep the royal children very near to himself and always know their minds by employing craft through good servants.

[2]43-46. He should make the children of his family well up in the *Nîti Śâstras*, proficient in archery, capable of undergoing strains, and of bearing harsh words and punishments, habituated to the feats of arms, master of all arts and sciences, upright in morals as well as well-disciplined through his ministers and councillors.

[3]47-49. He should appoint them to Crown-princeship after having brought them up with good dolls, clothed them in good dress, respected them with good seats, nourished them with good food and thus made them worthy of being Crown-princes.

[4]50. The family or dynasty the children of which are undisciplined soon comes to ruin.

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[1] सन्निकर्षं—Proximity (to himself). This is the pre-condition for good management. Able servants are to be appointed who are adepts in the arts of diplomacy. In fact there should be a regular organisation to study the minds of these members of the royal family.

[2] Here is a course of instruction for children of the royal household. The education is to be at once physical, intellectual, moral, military as well as political.

धनुर्वेद and शौर्ययुद्ध—The two refer perhaps to the theoretical and applied branches of military education. The former indicates proficiency in the science of Archery, *i.e.*, military tactics and implements generally, while the latter refers to actual field work, parades, mock fights, assault-at-arms, etc., practices that call forth martial enthusiasm and develop the warlike aptitudes.

ऋज्वस:—Straight and upright in morals.

The children must not be allowed to grow uncared for, they are to be brought up through a regular and systematic course of education under the direction of state officials.

[3] In ll. 43-46 Śukrâchâryya has described the system of education. Here he gives an account of the physical environment and surroundings amidst which he is to be brought up, the comforts and decencies of material life that should be offered to him for enjoyment. Good and decent living is not without its advantages in endowing the man with a cheerful disposition, optimistic outlook and hopeful visions, characteristics that are highly required of a man who has to deal with multifarious and complex interests in life. Wealth is a blessing in so far as the high standard of life which it makes possible considerably acts upon the character and tendencies of the man.

यौवराज्यार्हे—They are to be fit for this office not only by birth, intellectual and military training, etc., but also by ideas, manners and sentiments which are to be royal. Their impulses are to be generous, notions about the world and its affiairs favourable. And all this is impossible unless the associations in which they are born and bred are really beautiful, opulent and magnificent.

[4] अविनीत—untrained. Here is described the effect of not properly educating royal children.

[1]51-52. The child who is of evil ways of living should not be forsaken (by the father). If oppressed, he destroys his father by having resort to enemies.

[2]53-54. He should harass the child when taking to evil ways by persons who are of evil habits, as one should bind the elephant that is wicked and wild.

[3]55-56. In the interest of state's prosperity relatives and kinsfolk who are of very evil dispositions should be carefully extirpated through tigers or enemies or through craft.

[4]57. If there be any deviation from this course they would lead to destruction of both the people and the ruler.

[5]58-59. Relatives should ever satisfy the reigning king by their own excellent merits, for otherwise they are likely to be deprived of their own shares and lives.

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[1] सुदुर्वृत्त Whose वृत्त or character or ways of living are very evil.

परित्याग etc.,—It is dangerous to play with fire. So the handling of even bad children requires careful thought.

क्लिश्यमान—troubled, oppressed.

परान्—Others, *i.e.*, enemies. The enemies' ranks are likely to be swelled by the access of the ill-treated child.

[2] Wicked persons are to be set right through wicked characters.

व्यसन—A generic name for vices and passions.

व्यसनाश्रयैः—By those who take to vicious ways.

उद्वृत्त—Unrestrained, ill-behaved.

[3] दायाद—Those who receive shares of or participate in the estates, *i.e.*, kith and kin of the king.

दाय—that which can be inherited, property, estates, etc.

Wicked relatives are to be crushed by hook or by crook.

These lines continue the idea suggested in ll. 34-40 about the treatment of persons of royal blood.

[4] अतोऽन्यथा, *i.e.*—If the wicked relatives are not struck down immediately they begin to rise, the interests of the state will be jeopardised.

[5] Having described the careful and cautious dealings of kings with their kith and kin Śukrâchâryya takes the other side of the shield and prescribes the proper behaviour of दायादs towards their ruler. Of course unless these people are well behaved they are sure to forfeit their claims.

परैः—Excellent.

तोषयेयुः—Satisfy and please, not necessarily flatter. Their records of work as well as habits of life must be approved of by the ruler. They should thus deserve the honour and dignity bestowed on them as members of the royal family.

जीवितादपि—Their lives also may be insecure if they do not care to conform to the standard of faithfulness and devotion expected of them as participants दायाद in the royal estates.

[1]60-61. Those who have no near relatives, those who are born of other persons and the adopted sons should never even mentally be regarded as one's own children.

[2]62. They desire to be adopted of a person after knowing him to be rich.

[3]63-64. Hence the son of girls belonging to the same dynasty is superior to the others (mentioned above). For the daughter, like the son, is descended from the same limbs (and hence has the same feelings).

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[1] सापिण्ड्य—सापिण्ड is a Hindu legal term denoting "a kinsman, especially one connected by the offering of the funeral cake to either or all of the manes of the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and their wives respectively, as sprung from them in directly collateral lines; the relationship stops with every fourth person, as the fifth cannot perform the offering of a cake to the father even of the deceased."

The following are enumerated as *Sapindas*:—the son, the son's son, and son's grandson; widow, daughter, and daughter's son; the father, the mother the brother, brother's son, and brother's grandson; father's daughter's son; father's brother's son and grandson; paternal grandfather's daughter's son; paternal grandfather; paternal grandmother; paternal grandfather's brother; brother's son and grandson; and lastly, the great grandfather's daughter's son."—*Wilson's Dictionary.*

सापिण्ड्य—The condition of having सापिण्ड, *i.e.*, one or other of the relatives mentioned above. The idea here is that those persons who cannot refer to one or other of such kinsfolk and indicate their family relations should by no means be regarded as one's own children. Such persons are, practically speaking 'tribeless, clanless' foundlings and can never appreciate the normal filial feelings and paternal sentiments of ordinary human beings.

Three classes of men should not be considered as one's own children—(1) those who belong to no family and cannot refer to any of their own relatives; (2) those who are known to be born of other families; (3) those who have been legally adopted.

स्वसुत—*i.e.*, one's own offspring. The advice here given is expressed in the well known phrase 'Blood is thicker than water.' Any body and every body cannot be successfully received as members of one's own family, tied to it by natural affections and thoroughly identified with its interests.

[2] धनिकं—It is self-interest that impels men to be adopted children to somebody. They try to get themselves adopted by a man whom they find to be wealthy.

This line supplies the reason why adopted sons are never to be regarded as स्वसुत.

[3] Sukráchâryya has been discussing the question of adoption. Here are described the persons from among whom the selection is to be made. He is of opinion that offsprings of the same dynasty should be preferred to those who are mere vagabonds.

कन्या—Here are advanced some of the general claims of the daughter which according to *Sukraniti* are not at all inferior to those of the son. The daughter participates as much in the flesh and blood of the parents as the son. Hence the offsprings of girl should not be considered in any way inferior to those of the male issues. Rights of women are thus ably advocated.

अङ्गादङ्गात्—Limb by limb, *i.e.*, each portion of the body of the daughter (and the son) is derived from the limbs of the progenitor.

[1]65. Hence there is no difference between the son and the daughter's son as regards the offering of cakes to ancestors.

[2]66. The king is to maintain an adopted son in the interests of his territory as well as subjects.

[3]67. The ruler should have wealth for the protection of his subjects, not for other purposes.

[4]68-69. He bequeaths everything to another's son by adopting him as his own child. What can be more strange if he does not give charities and offer sacrifices?

[5]70-73. After attaining Crown-princeship one should not get demoralised, should not insult or oppress (owing to the vanity of one's own wealth) one's mother, father, preceptor, brother and sister or the favourites and dear ones of the reigning king or the commonalty of the realm.

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[1] That the daughter or woman generally is not to be despised is sufficiently indicated, according to Sukrâchâryya, by the regulation that the male issue of the daughter is as much entitled to the funeral rites as the son himself.

पिण्ड—An oblation to deceased ancestors, as a ball or lump of rice mixed up with milk, curds, flowers, &c., offered to the manes by nearest surviving relations.

[2] The adoption is not for personal satisfaction but for the proper administration of the interests of the state.

[3] The king's wealth is sacred and must not be misspent. Here is a sly hit at the practice of adopting sons and spending money over them. The next two lines make it more clear.

[4] If it is possible for a man to adopt into one's family men born outside it is to be expected that he should spend some money at any rate on sacrifices and in charities. So that the poorer classes as well as priests may derive some share of royal wealth.

A conflict between national interests and the interests of the adopted child is brought out here. That the right of adoption is to a certain extent prejudicial to the collective weal of the people at large was conceived by philosophers of the Hindu world. Here is a mild protest against the custom.

दान–(Charity, gifts, &c.) and यजन (sacrifices, worship, &c.) are the two items which are interfered with by expenditure over adopted sons. The money which is meant for प्रजापालन (maintenance of subjects, l. 67) *e.g.*, through charities and sacrificial festivals is spent on men who come into the royal family not even by the accident of birth but by a legal fiction, perhaps by his whim.

[5] Newly installed Crown-princes are likely to be insolent, rude and haughty like upstarts. And persons likely to bear most the brunt of their affront have been divided here into three classes—(1) members of their own family, relatives and kinsfolk; (2) राजवल्लभ–friends and favourites of the king, e. ., those who also might be similarly installed in case of his absence, and hence who are likely to be jealous rivals; (3) महाजनान् —the public at large, the subjects generally. It is very desirable that the Crown-prince should be able to establish an empire over the hearts of the people. महाजन—Does not mean a great or illustrious man, but a collective people.

अवमन्येत्—Look down upon.

स्वसम्पत्तिमद—Vanity due to the newly acquired position and wealth as Crown-prince,

[1]74-75. But if somebody who is outside the royal clan or family wants admittance into it the good people do not tolerate such presentation of an outsider to the king.

[2]76-77. Even after attaining great prosperity he should abide by his father's command, for to a child the father's command is his best ornament.

[3]78-79. The mother was killed by Bhârgava, and Rama went to forest according to their father's commands And it was through the strength of their fathers' penances that they respectively got back their mother and kingdom.

[4]80. The command of him who has the two-fold right of cursing and blessing is very weighty.

[5]81-82. He should not display his greatness to all his brothers; for Suyodhana was ruined through the insult meted to the brothers who had also right to the wealth.

[6]83-85. Owing to the violation of father's commands royal offsprings even after attaining excellent positions are thrown down like menial servants, *e.g.*, the sons of Yayâti and Viśwâmitra.

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[1] The Crown-prince has been advised to behave well with all persons. But here he is asked to make a difference with regard to one point, *viz.*, नाभिप्रदर्शनं *i.e.*, seeing the king (नाभि).

मर्षयन्ति—Do not bear or tolerate, *i.e*, the prince should not allow the outsider to appear before the king. He should be judicious enough to make the choice as to who should be presented and who not.

[2] वृद्धि—Increase, affluence, prosperity.

[3] The common traditional stories about Paraśurâma and Rama are here pressed into service to prove the authority of father and the efficacy of obedience to father. Sons who obey their fathers are successful in life.

[4] The command of such persons must be respected.

[5] आधिक्यं—Difference in prosperity. It is always a bad policy to make a display of one's strength before those who have reasons to be jealous. Such an injudicious display is positively mischievous, it is tantamount to ill-treating and insulting them and exciting their worst passions.

भागार्हं—Those who deserve a share.

The advice given here is very sound in the administration of domestic and other social affairs. And as hereditary monarchy has more or less the characteristics of a domestic household, being essentially patriarchal in nature, the rules of dealings with kith and kin are not out of place in political treatises.

[6] Instances of obedient and devoted sons have been recorded in ll 77-8. Here are given intances of failure through disobedience.

[1]86-87. One should always be in the habit of serving one's father in word, thought and action. One should ever do that by which father is satisfied, one should not do that by which father gets pain even for a single occasion.

89-90. One should oneself do that with pleasure in which there is father's pleasure. And one with whom the father is dissatisfied should be his object of enmity.

91. One should not do anything that is disapproved or opposed by father.

[2]92-93. If through the faults of flatterers and informers the father is far from what he ought to be, one should study his nature and manage to explain matters to him in a retired place.

[3]94. Otherwise he should always punish the flatterers very severely.

95. And he should ever know the inward feelings of the subjects through artifices.

96-97. In the morning of every day he should bow down to his father, mother and preceptor. He should then narrate to the king the work done day after day.

[4]98-99. Thus living in the house and maintaining the unity of the family the Crown-Prince should satisfy the subjects well by his learning, actions and character.

[5]100. He should also be self-sacrificing and vigorous and thus bring within his sway all around him.

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[1] मनाक्—Once.

विषीदति—Gets displeased.

[2] It is not unlikely that the father may be misled by चार, *i. e.*, informers, spies, etc., and सूचकs, *i. e.*, flatterers, detractors, etc. In that case it would be the duty of the son to keep him to the right path. But then he should not do it in an ostentatious and haughty fashion.

He should study his humour प्रकृति and explain to him in a manner that is adapted to it अनुमतं. So that his attempt may not fall flat. And the advice is to be given in secret places.

प्रकृत्यनुमतं कृत्वा—In a manner that is acceptable to him.

[3] अनुदिनं—Day after day, *i.e.*, every morning he should relate what he did during the day previous.

[4] His work is to have two-fold effect—(1) the Family or House must not lose its integrity—there must be अविरोध ; (2) The people must be happy.

[5] The supremacy is to be established not only by सत्व or physical vigour but by त्याग moral strength of sacrifice also.

[1]101. He is to grow slowly like the portion of the moon in the bright fortnight.

102-103. The prince who behaves himself in the manner described above having got the kingdom that is thornless enjoys for ever the earth with his associates and councillors.

104. Thus has been narrated in brief the function of the Crown-prince that is beneficial.

[2]105. Now are being related in brief the functions and characteristics of the councillors.

106-109. Just as gold is tested by experts by reference to lightness or heaviness of weight, colour, sound, etc., so also one should examine servants (or office-bearers) by reference to their work, companionship, merits, habits, family relations, etc., and place confidence in one who is found to be trustworthy.

[3]110. One should not notice only the caste (or race) or only the family (in making the selection).

111-112. Work, character and merit—these three are to be respected—neither caste nor family. Neither by caste nor by family can superiority be asserted.

[4]113. In marriages and dinner parties considerations of family and caste are compulsory.

[5]114-117. The truthful, the meritorious, the celebrated and the wealthy, as well as men who have been born in good families, whose habits are

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[1] समासतः—Briefly, synoptically.

[2] सहवास—Of course a man is known by the company he keeps.

परीक्षयेत्—Anybody and everybody is not to be appointed to any post. All candidates must pass through the process of examination and selection. The selected candidate must be able to satisfy the master in the particular points enumerated.

[3] Considerations of birth and family are important no doubt, but these are not the sole points to be brought out in selecting persons for public offices.

[4] That is, in purely social functions, race, caste, birth, etc., have to be most seriously considered. But when the question is of appointment to political offices these considerations should weigh very little to the master or officer in charge.

नित्यं—Always, *i.e.*, compulsory.

Śukrâchâryya makes a distinction between spheres of human activity and remarks that caste considerations apply not to all departments of human life but only to certain defined aspects, *e.g.*, marriage, dining, etc. Hence much of the so-called vices of caste system is the idle product of men's imagination. The criticism that it is based on injustice cannot stand.

[5] Such persons are likely to be conscientious and their discharge of duties strictly rigid.

अभिजनः—(1) Family; (2) Fame. Here the latter, for otherwise, अभिजनवान् would be repetition of सुकुलः *i.e.*, well connected.

A few more characteristics of good servants are enumerated below.

good, who do good deeds and have no sloth—perform the duties of their master even better than their own work by the four-fold qualities of body, speech, thought and diligence.

118-119. (The good office-bearer) is satisfied with his salary only, is sweet-tongued, expert in actions, pure and firm ; skilful in doing good to others and is averse to evil ways.

[1]119-120. He observes even the son or the father who does injury to the master ; is not similar to the lord who goes astray, but understands well (the situations).

[2]121. He does not protest against the statements of his master, nor does he give publicity to any of his shortcomings.

[3]123. He is not procrastinating in good measures but procrastinating (and dilatory) in evil ones.

124. He never picks holes in the coats of his master's wife, children and friends.

[4]125. Towards his master's wife, children and friends he bears the same attitude as the master himself.

[5]126. He does not appraise himself, nor does he defy anybody. He does not envy or insult anyone.

127. He does not want the rights belonging to others, but is unambitious and always contented.

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[1] The good officer is he who is impartial and does not fear to expose the faults and vices of even near relatives, and who does not pander to the evil tastes and habits of the master but is firm and strong (in dissuading him from them).

दर्शकः—observer, watcher, scrutiniser.

आगस्कारिणं—Who commits offence, acts against the interests.

आगस्—Fault, crime.

अतद्रूप—Not like him.

तद्रूप—*i.e.*, not a mere echo of the master, not a sycophant but has his own individuality. The son's activities may go against the interests of the master, the father's activities also may point the same way. Even the master himself may adopt suicidal measures. In these cases it is only the good servant who can intervene and by boldly asserting his individuality rescue the state from ruin and calamity.

सुबोधक—One who can well understand situations.

[2] आक्षेप्ता—One who protests.

गिरं—Word.

न्यून—Defects.

[3] He follows the principle 'Love me, love my dog.'

[4] तद्वद्बुद्धि—*i e.*, one who thinks in (or whose *thought* is of) the same manner as the master himself. He is thoroughly identified with his master's interests and looks upon all his concerns as his own.

[5] अधिकारं—Rights, jurisdiction. The good officer is not interfering, does not unduly hope for other's privileges.

[1]128. He bears or puts on the clothes, ornaments, &c., offered by him and ever stands before him.

[2]129. He spends according to his salary, is moderate, kind and also courageous.

[3]130. Lastly, the excellent servant is he who discusses the evil deeds of his master privately, *i.e.*, does not give publicity to them.

[4]131. The servant with attributes contrary to those mentioned above is known to be bad.

132. Those who are underpaid, those who have been coerced by punishment, cheats, the miserable, the greedy, and those who speak well in one's presence.

[5]134-138. The passionate, the vicious, the diseased, those who seek bribes, the gamblers, the atheists, the vain and untruthful as well as the envious people ; those who have been insulted, and touched to the quick by harsh words, the friends and servants of enemies, and those who keep up old enmities, the ferocious and the daring, as also the irreligious people can never be good officers.

[6]139. The marks of good and bad servants have been enumerated concisely.

140. Now are described the characteristics of priests and other officers.

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[1] धारकं—He puts on the insignia, badges, &c., indicating his rank and function and is ever ready to serve his master.

[2] भृति—Salary. One of the characteristics of good officers is frugality and moderation in expenditure.

Persons who are spendthrifts and extravagant in their private capacity are likely to bring disasters upon the state by injudicious administration of public interests. Hence an individual's extravagance is not only a personal foible but has also a serious significance in political and social affairs. The man, therefore, who spends within his means is good not only as a private citizen but is also an acquisition to the state.

[3] Having described some of the characteristics of the good officers, Śukrâchâryya is going to mention a few marks by which bad servants are to be known. Of course quite the opposite attributes will be predicated of them.

[4] हीनभृतिका—Those whose salaries are low. Low paid officers are never to be trusted with responsible work and are not expected to render faithful service.

Of course, the men described in these lines are good for nothing.

[5] अभ्यसूयका:—Malicious, envious.

आर्त्तं— Diseased.

व्यसनिन:—Those who are addicted to vices, *e.g.*, hunting.

देविन:—Gamblers—those who play at dice.

अनुबन्धिन:—Those who continue.

प्रकर्षिता—*i.e.*, censured for neglects of duty.

[6] पुरोधा— Priest.

[1]141-143. The priest, the viceroy, the premier, the commander, the councillor, the judge, the scholar, the *Sumantraka*, the *Amâtya*, as well the spy—these are the ten departments of a king.

[2]144. Whose incomes are one-tenth more than those of subsequent men up to the spies.

[3]145-147. The king is said to have eight departments or requisites of regal administration according to some people.

[4]148. These eight departments of political organisation have equal remuneration.

[5]149. The spy who is well up in (the art of reading) emotions and gestures (expressions) is a servant of these eight.

[6]150-155. The priest is superior to all others—the main-stay of the king and kingdom. The Viceroy comes next, next the Premier; then the

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[1] सचिव, मन्त्री, आमात्य and सुमन्त्रक are different ministers with different functions.

प्रधान—Chief Secretary, superintendent, premier.

सचिव—Commander, War Minister.

मन्त्री—Councillor, diplomatist.

सुमन्त्रक—Finance Minister.

अमात्य—Ordinary Minister.

प्रकृतय:—Advisers, requisites of regal administration. Departments of Executive Government.

प्राड्विवाक:—One who asks (प्राट्) as well as decides; The Justice.

[2] That is, the income of पुरोधा: is one-tenth greater than that of *Pratinidhi*. That of *Pratinidhi* one-tenth greater than that of *Pradhâna*, and so on.

[3] The eight requisites are Sumantra, Scholar, Minister, Pradhâna, Sachiva, Amâtya, Justice, and Viceroy.

[4] भृतिसमा:—Those whose incomes are equal. There are two systems of political organisation. According to the first the incomes vary in a certain proportion, there is a gradation of salary. According to the second there is equality of income.

[5] In the second list दूत has no place. But the spy is too important an office-bearer to be ignored. Hence according to the second theory he is retained as the follower or अनुग of the main departments.

इङ्गित—The emotions and feelings of the mind.

आकार—Expressions or manifestations of feeling through gesticulations, physical gestures.

तत्त्व—Science, here the art of studying the mind and its external manifestations. It goes without saying that the spy must be an adept in this art.

The ll. 145-149 introduce paranthetically, as it were, the new conception of political departments, and mention it here only as a piece of information. Śukrâchâryya does not accept it himself.

[6] पूर्वंश्रेष्ठा:—The former among whom was superior to the latter.

Having described the salary, precedence and social as well as political status of the 10 classes of administrative authorities, Śukrâchâryya goes on to describe the functions and qualifications of each.

राष्ट्रवृत्त—Pillar of the State.

Sachiva, then the Minister, next the Justice, then the Scholar; next comes Sumantra, then the Amâtya, lastly the Spy; these officers are successively meritorious in order.

[1]156-160. One who is versed in *mantras* and rituals, master of the three sciences, skilful at work, conqueror of the senses, subduer of anger, devoid of greed and passions, equipped with a knowledge of six Angas (*Vedângas*) and of the science of Archery with all its branches, one who knows the science of moral as well as religious interests, one fearing whose anger even the king takes to virtuous ways of life, one who is well up in *Niti Śâstra* and master of military implements and tactics is the Priest.

161. The Priest is also the *âchâryya* and he is competent both to curse and bless.

162. Without the advice of the *Prakritis*, *i.e.*, the Executive officers, the state is sure to be destroyed.

[2]163. If the king fears their control, they are good ministers.

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[1] The enumeration of the attributes of a priest gives some idea of the all-round culture he is to have. Not a mere knowledge of the technique of sacrificial rites and ceremonies, but a sound liberal education is expected of him. That he should have the moral qualities of moderation, abstemiousness and self-control goes without saying. He must also be smart and active कर्म्मतत्पर. What is of special significance in the list is the mention of the several branches of learning he should master—(1) The Three Vedas technically known as त्रयी; (2) The six Vedangas—sciences which introduce learners to the study of the Vedas, without which no one can understand and appreciate the master sciences. These are known as (*a*) शिक्षा—The Science of pronunciation and articulation; (*b*) कल्प—The detail of religious ceremonies; (c) व्याकरण Grammar; (*d*) छन्द: Prosody; (*e*) ज्योतिष Astronomy; (*f*) निरुक्त Explanation of difficult or obscure words and phrases that occur in the Vedas. (3) The military science with all its branches; धनुर्वेद or the Science of archery is a generic name for the science governing all martial exploits; (4) The Science of religious interests of men. (5) Niti Śâstra—Science of social, economic, and political morals. (6) The art of warfare. Practical training is here implied, as theoretical knowledge of warlike feats is suggested by धनुर्वेदवित्.

Thus apart from the moral and physical training the system of education for priests includes within intellectual culture a training in Economics, Theology, Sociology and Military Science.

व्यूह—Arrays of soldiers, their grouping and management on fields.

[2] निरोधन—Control, discipline, pressure.

A good minister is he whom (whose regulations) the king fears.

The polity described in *Sukraniti* is formally despotic; but it recognises only such ministers as ideal as are not merely 'king's friends' or 'king's men' working like his private secretaries or confidential clerks, but have an individuality and independence of character by which they can control the whims and caprices of the monarch and systematically govern the course of the state's action.

[1]164-165. Can there be prosperity of the kingdom if there be ministers whom the ruler does not fear? Such ministers are to be gratified like women with decorations, liveries of honour, etc.

[2]166-167. If there be no improvement in the state whether in extent, population, efficiency, revenue or administration; if, on the contrary, the state be jeopardised through the ministers' counsels, what is the good of having such men (as king's advisers)?

[3]168-173. The *Pratinidhi* or vice-regent is he who knows what is to be done, and what is not to be done. The *Pradhâna* is he who has eye on

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[1] Independence of ministers is the criterion of national well-being. Men who dare not raise their voice against the king have no place in the councils of states but should be retained as ornamental figureheads and 'dignified parts' of the constitution. They do not deserve any effective control over statecraft and should be humoured by grants of titles, honours and distinctions.

They are no better than women who are satisfied with trinkets and dainties.

[2] नृपत्वं—The function of a king, rule, administration, government.

Some other general tests of good ministers are mentioned here. They must be able to display their ability and justify their existence by adding to the state's resources, territory, influence or prestige.

[3] The several ministers of the king who are heads of several departments are mentioned here. The Hindu technical terms and English equivalents are given below:

पुरोधा—Priest.

प्रतिनिधि—Viceroy.

प्रधान—Superintendent, Chief Secretary.

सचिव—War Secretary.

मन्त्री—Diplomatist, Foreign Secretary.

पंडित—Learned adviser.

प्राड्विवाक्—Chief Justice.

अमात्य—Land Revenue Officer.

सुमंत्र—Finance Minister.

दूत—Ambassador.

The differentiation of the Executive into so many departments each with its own functions and own chief indicates a highly organised political fabric. The statement of qualifications required of each minister is also the product of a deep insight into the functions of the state. The picture thus presented is not one of a simple primitive political life in which the 'man in the street' is fit to be a judge, a warrior and a ruler by turn, but one of a complex organization which requires specialized functionaries for the efficient discharge of its functions and hence demands of each a specialised training as Judge, Commander, Financier, &c.

l. 170. The *Mantri* or Foreign Secretary must be proficient in *Niti*, *i.e.*, the art of life (or the rules for the good management of practical affairs). He must therefore know what to do under what circumstances. This is what is meant in modern times by 'expediency.'

l. 171. The *Prâḍvivâka* or Chief Justice must be proficient in three Sciences—that which deals with men (Sociology or History), that which treats of the rules laid down by

(supervises) all things. The *Sachiva* is the man who knows all about the army. The *Mantri* is one who is adept in diplomacy. The *Pandit* is the person who is well up in the theory of religion and morals. The *Prâdvivâka* is he who has knowledge of men, Śâstras and morals. The *Amâtya* is known to be the person who has knowledge of lands and records. The *Sumantra* is he who knows of the incomes and disbursements.

[1]174-175. That man is chosen as ambassador who knows the innermost feelings of other men, who can study their expressions and movements, and who has a good memory, knows the conditions of time and place, can speak well, and is fearless.

[2]176-178. The *Pratinidhi* should always advise kings as to when a thing should be done immediately even though it is evil and when to refrain from doing a thing though it is good (at the proper time); make them act up to his advice; and if they do not abide by him, he should go on explaining.

[3]179-180. The *Pradhana* has to discriminate between truth and untruth and find out the total amount of work among the functions discharged by all.

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sages and Rishis in Śâstras (Theology, &c.) and that which treats of manners, customs, and morals handed down from generation to generation (Morality or Ethics). All the Sciences enumerated here are human and social; and the Judge has to qualify himself specially in these for he has always to deal mainly with men and manners.

1. 172. देश—Lands, लेख—writings or records. Perhaps a knowledge of tenures and rights is implied here. The *Amâtya* is thus a Cadastral Settlement or Survey Minister.

[1] इङ्गित—inward feelings. The ambassador must be able to study the mind's thoughts. आकार—facial expressions or outward manifestations of sentiments through the physical organs, *e.g.*, in speech, gesticulations, movements of limbs, &c., चेष्टा activity, enterprise. The ambassador must also keep news of the movements of the persons he studies.

He must have a retentive memory for he may have to communicate many things orally which it might be inexpedient to transmit in black and white. It is easy to understand why he should be a master of Geography and History (देश and काल *i.e.*, space and time) and also a good speaker. For unless he is well-grounded in the actual conditions of time and place and the special characteristics of the relations between persons he has to deal with he is likely to misunderstand or misrepresent facts and thus bungle with the state's affairs.

[2] The Vice-regent is not merely to ditto the king at every step but must be bold enough to forbid bad courses of action, and recommend what appears to be good at the proper time.

[3] He is something like a general supervisor over all the affairs of the state and a controller of office systems.

कार्य्यजात—Amount of work.

[1]181-190. The *Sachiva* has to study the elephants, horses, chariots, foot-soldiers, camels, oxen, bandsmen, ensign bearers, men who practise battle-arrays, men who are sent out eastward and westward (on mission), bearers of royal emblems, arms and weapons, attendants of superior, ordinary and inferior grades, and the various classes of ammunitions; he has to find out the groups that are complete in all their parts, how many of these are in active condition, how many are old and how many new, how many are unfit for work, how many troops are well equipped with arms, ordnance and gunpowder, and what is the amount of commissariat and other contingencies. Then he has to communicate the result of his studies to the king.

[2]191-193. The *Mantri* has to study when, how and to whom the policies of Peace, Purchase, Partition and Penalty have to be adopted and the various effects of each whether great, moderate or small; and having decided on the course of action to communicate that to the king.

[3]194-199. The Chief Justice should advise the king after examining, with the help of his peers in Council, the men who have brought forward suits for judgment, by witnesses, written documents, artifices, and by occult processes to find out which method or procedure is likely to be most efficacious in which case, and after determining what is the inevitable decision by the application of reasoning, direct observation, inference, analogy as well as the local customs.

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[1] संघ—Groups.

साद्यस्क—New.

अग्निचूर्ण—Gunpowder.

सम्भार—Necessaries and contingencies of war.

[2] साम, etc.—The four policies mentioned here are the orthodox methods of dealing with international affairs in Hindu treatises on Politics. The *Mantri* is thus the Foreign Secretary.

संचिन्त्य—Considering or studying.

निश्चित्य—Determining or deciding.

[3] The Judicial procedure is fully described here. (1) The Chief Justice is not to act alone but is to be helped by सभ्य. He is to be ससभ्य. (2) The judgment is to be public, for he is to be सभास्थित (seated in the assembly). (3) The examination is to be conducted in as many ways as possible so that the whole truth may be discovered. Even दिव्य संसाधन *i.e.*, mystical or occult processes have to be resorted to in order to discover the proper method of attacking a problem. (4) The sentence is to be delivered after careful weighing of evidence. All the methods of truth-investigation known in Hindu Logic have to be used. The लोकशास्त्र or manners, morals and customs of the folk that have been handed down from generations must also be investigated. For otherwise the judgment might be correct in theory but wrong in practice, in fact, quite out of place.

[1]200-203. The Pandit has to study the rules of moral life obtaining in society in ancient and modern times, which have been mentioned in the codes, which are now opposed, and which militate against the customs of the folk, and to advise the king by those which are efficacious both for his life and hereafter.

[2]204-206. The *Sumantra* should communicate to the king the amount of commodities laid by, the amount of debts, &c., the amount spent, and the amount of surplus or balance in both moveables and immoveables during the course of the year.

[3]207-208. How many cities, villages and forests are there, the amount of land cultivated, who is the receiver of the rent, the amount of revenue realised.

209-210. Who receives the remainder after paying off the rent, how much land remains uncultivated, the amount of revenue realised through taxes and fines.

211-212. The amount realised without cultivation (*i.e.*, as Nature's gifts), how much accrues from forests, the amount realised through mines and jewels.

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[1] Various classes of rules and regulations of life are here enumerated. There cannot be a uniform standard of moral conduct—it is implied. It must vary according to place, time, and circumstances.

लोकशास्त्रविरुद्ध—The possibility of a Pandit being opposed to the manners and customs of the people is thus indicated.

It is the function of the Pandit to study the manners and customs and always to be in touch with the latest thoughts and opinions of the people, *i.e.*, to grow with the world.

Sukrâchâryya is not an advocate of fixed codes of morality and religion that must be absolutely respected at all times and places and under any circumstances whatever, but recognises the relativity of religious and moral sentiments and practices to the social and other conditions of the world.

[2] The सुमन्त्र or Finance Minister has to study the Budget and Revenues and prepare the schedule of Credits and Debits, Assets and Liabilities of the State. He has, in fact, to frame what is called the Balance-sheet.

[3] The Financial affairs are distributed between the सुमन्त्र who is in charge of the Budget and the अमात्य who is in charge of Land settlement and records.

The following sources of revenue are mentioned :—

(1) भाग—Rent from land.

(2) शुल्क—Duties or taxes.

(3) दण्ड—Fines.

(4) अकृष्टपच्या—*i.e.*, what is received without cultivation or care. Nature's contribution.

(5) अरण्यसम्भव—Income from forests.

(6) आकर—Mineral wealth.

(7) निधिमान—Deposits as in a bank.

(8) अस्वामिक—Unowned. All unclaimed property belongs to the state.

(9) तस्करापहृत—Got back from thieves.

213-214. How much is collected as unowned or unclaimed by anybody, got back from the thief, and the amount stored up,—knowing these things the *Amâtya* should inform the king.

[1]215-216. The characteristics and functions of the ten chief advisers have been mentioned in brief. One should know them by the records of work given by each.

217. The king should appoint them to each post by rotation.

[2]218-219. The king should not make his officers more powerful than himself, and the ten *Prakritis* should be entrusted with equal power.

[3]220-224. He should always appoint three men for each department—the wisest of them all at the head and the two others as overseers, for three, five, seven or ten years, and having noticed each officer's qualifications for the work entrusted he should make the necessary changes.

[4]225. The king should never give office for ever to any body and everybody.

226-227. He should appoint men to offices after examining the fitness of the persons for them. For who does not get intoxicated by drinking of the vanity of offices?

[5]228-230. So he should appoint others after seeing that they are fit to discharge the functions, or the apprentices who are qualified for that task as paid officers, or outsiders in their absence.

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[1] Each officer is thus to be made competent for all functions of the state through taking part in each for certain periods.

परिवृद्ध—The system of training up officers by rotation. But it is difficult to see how the priestly function can be discharged by the others.

[2] समबल—Of equal authority. Is the theory of checks and balances implied here?

[3] Here are rules for the management of each अधिकार or jurisdiction, *i.e.*, department.

दर्शक—Inspectors, overseers.

हायन—Year. The term of office or tenure of appointment is for 3, 5, 7, or 10 years according to कार्यकौशल्य *i.e.*, qualifications.

[4] Śukrâchâryya warns the king against bestowal of permanent offices. Appointments to posts should be, according to him, during good behaviour. If the pride of position bewilders the officer and he proves unworthy of the responsibility he should be dismissed. Work is the sole test and recommendation for office.

[5] When somebody is found to be unworthy of the work entrusted to him others are to be appointed. In such a case the claims of तत् पदानुगत, *i.e.*, those who follow in his heels (*e.g.*, subordinates and apprentices) should be considered. And these should be appointed on salary वर्तने.

231. He should appoint men who have his qualifications or his sons to his post.

[1]232-233. As the officer becomes qualified for the higher and higher functions he should be appointed to the higher and higher post. At the end he should be a *Prakriti* (one of the 10 advisers).

[2]234-235. He should appoint many overseers or appoint only one officer without any overseer at all according to the importance of the jurisdiction to be managed.

[3]236. He should appoint for other works those who are fit.

237-238. He should appoint separately the heads of elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, cattle, camels, deer, birds, gold, jewels, silver, clothes.

[4]239. The chief of treasure, the chief of grains, and the superintendent of cooking.

[5]240-241. The superintendent of parks, and the head of buildings and palaces separately, as also always the superintendent of the necessaries and contingencies, the officer in charge of the religious establishments and the supervisor of charities.

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[1] These lines describe a regular system of translation and promotion through qualification and aptitude for successively higher posts leading ultimately to the immediate advisers and councillors of the king. The officer is to begin at the lowest rung of the administrative ladder, but by displaying his ability in the lower grades, may be lifted up to the post of highest responsibility.

All these rules about the training of officers, tenure of service, organisation of the office, the filling up of vacancies, rotation and gradual promotion are the outcome of a highly developed political machinery that would be required in a vast country-state or an empire. *Sukraniti* is adapted to the requirements not of village-commonwealths or city-states but extensive national organisations.

अनुक्रमेण—In succession. The amount of work to be done and the number and variety of interests to be administered must be very large in order to allow for the scientific division of labour and the methods of scientific specialisation and transfer prescribed in these lines.

[2] अधिकार Office, jurisdiction. The proportion of inspectors to actual workers is to be determined scientifically according to the nature of the interests to be administered.

[3] पृथक्—Each of these things is to be in charge of a separate officer. But it is difficult to see how and why some of these responsibilities can be parted from each other, *e.g.*, What is the good of having separate officers for gold, jewels and silver? This is specialisation carried too far. Or perhaps all these things are to go together, as implied in ll. 303-4.

[4] The treasurer, the head of the granary and kitchen-superintendent are separate officers as they should be.

The granary is a very important feature of Hindu economic and social life.

[5] देवतुष्टिपति—A separate officer is required for administering the institutions for the satisfaction of gods, *e.g.*, temples, *Dharmaśálás*, &c., which are likely to be too many in Hindu society.

242-245. The lord of साहस, the headman of the village, the collector of land revenues, the clerk, the collector of taxes (tolls and duties), as also the news-bearer—these six are to be appointed in each village and town.

[1]246-50. Those who practise penances, those who are charitable, those who are proficient in revealed literature (the Vedas) and *Smṛitis*, those who are well versed in *Purâṇas*, those who know the *Śâstras*, (other than the *Srutis*, *Smṛitis* and *Purâṇas*) the astrologers, the sorcerers, those who are masters of *Ayurveda* (medical science), those who are versed in the religious rites and ceremonies, those who practise the virtues laid down in *Tantras* and those others who are meritorious, intelligent and masters of their passions—these classes of men the king should worship and maintain by stipends, gifts and honours.

[2]251. Otherwise the king is disparaged and earns an ill name.

[3]252-253. There are many functions which involve a multiplicity of effects. The king should appoint officers for the discharge of such functions also after considering their fitness for these.

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[1] Some special charges on the state are those men who are morally or intellectually deserving of help.

They are to be respected by grants of scholarship (भृत्या,), gifts of land or other things (दान) and titles of honour or distinction (मान).

In enumerating the intellectual qualifications entitling a man to such honours and aids *Śukráchâryya* mentions perhaps all the varieties of विद्या prevalent in his time—(1) श्रुति,—The Vedas; (2) स्मृति (3) पुराण—Puranas; (4) शास्त्र (5) दैव—Divination (astrology). (6) मन्त्र—Hymns and incantations, *e.g.*, those of the Atharva-Veda which are efficacious in many social troubles; (7) आयुर्वेद—The science and art of medicine; (8) कर्म्मकाण्ड,—The religious rites and usages—sacrifices and offerings to gods; (9) तन्त्र—*Tantras*.

The enumeration of these branches of learning in this connexion indicates a comparatively modern stage of socio-political life in two ways. In the first place, the fact that even कर्म्मकाण्ड, मन्त्र and तन्त्र entitle the persons to distinctions and aids of the state equally as the *Srutis* is an index to the great liberalisation of intellect that must have been prevalent at the time. In the second place the branches of learning must have been many and diversified for long in order that there might be specialists in each. It is doubtful if *Tantras* and men adept in the rites prescribed therein could be noticed in Pre-Buddhistic age, say the age of *Śrutis*.

[2] This is the *sanction* for stipends and honorariums to scholars and learned men.

The above lines suggest a sort of literary pensions granted to qualified men to enable them to devote their whole time and energy to the pursuit of their special investigations. Here is a plea for the adoption of the policy of *Protection* for fostering the national literature, arts and sciences. A state without men of letters is insignificant and unimportant. Hence one of the functions of the state is the direct promotion and encouragement of culture among the people.

[3] बहुसाध्यानि—Which have many ends, hence highly complicated state functions, perhaps of great diplomatic importance.

[1]254-255. There is no letter (of alphabet) which bears no charm, there is no root (of plants) that possesses no medicinal properties. So also there is no man who is (utterly) unfit. But the rarity is the person who can connect.

256-258. The man who knows of the various species of elephants, *e.g.*, *Prabhadra*, *Airâvata*, *Pundarîka*, etc., their treatment, the methods of training them, their diseases, the art of nourishing them; who can discover and distinguish their qualities by studying the roof of the mouth, the tongue, and the nails, who knows how to climb them and guide their movements, should be appointed to take care of elephants.

259. The guide with such qualifications is sure to captivate the heart of the elephant (is sure to master its passions).

[2]260-263. The man who knows of the feelings of horses, and can discover and distinguish their qualities by studying their species, colour and movements, who knows how to guide, train and treat them, and is aware of their mettle, spirit and diseases, who knows what is good and what is bad nourishment for them, who knows of their weight, their capacity for bearing weights, their teeth and their age, who besides is valorous, adept in military parades and is wise, should be appointed to the superintendentship of horses.

[3]264-267. The man who has all these qualifications and besides knows of the yoke and the burden, who knows of the strength of chariots,

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[1] *Śukráchâryya* has been dilating on the skill and discrimination required of the master for the selection of proper men for tasks for which they are fit. These two lines contain the general truth that there is nothing in the world that is absolutely useless. Everything has its own use.—The greatest difficulty is to find out the man who can make proper use of these things in the universe, create *mantras* by connecting the letters of the alphabet, discover medicines by finding out the relation of plants with human bodies.

The kernel of truth that *Śukraṇîti* establishes for the success of organisations, and what all responsible men should regard as the first principle is the maxim, 'Give each man his proper work.' योजक—the combiner, connecter, the man who can discover the relations existing between bodies, and hence the effects of various sets of juxtapositions.

[2] Śukrâchâryya's statement of qualifications for the Superintendents of horses and elephants contains, as it should, a knowledge of practical zoology and veterinary science. And as the two animals differ in many respects both as regards physique, movements and habits, it is easy to see why the two offices should be kept separate. A good groom is not likely to be a good tender of elephants.

[3] The master of chariots must have not only all the qualifications of keepers of horses, but the additional merits of discriminating the qualities of wood and other materials used in the building of chariot so that he might be confident of the strength of his vehicle; and he must also be skilled in the mechanical movements required for manipulating it.

[illegible] &c.—Destroyer of the mark fixed for the attacking missiles.

and is skilled in moving, rotating and turning them about, who by movements of chariots can frustrate the aims (of enemies marked by missiles and weapons, and who knows how to fasten and protect the horses should be appointed as master of chariots.

268-269. Those are to be made grooms of horses who are brave, versed in military parades and battle arrays and know of the movements of horses, who are intelligent and know the art of warfare with arms and weapons.

270-273. The trainer of horses is he who knows of the eleven kinds of horses' movements such as : (1) circular, (2) galloping, (3) prancing, (4) trotting, (5) jumping, (6) speedy, (7) slow, (8) tortuous, (9) serpentine, (10) *rolling*, revolving, and (11) galloping at full speed ; and who can 'break' them according to their strength and according to the uses to which they would be put.

[1]274-275. The man who can serve the horses well, who knows how to place the saddles, etc., and who is able-bodied and brave should be made a groom.

[2]276-280. Those who are well up in *Nîtiśâstras*, the use of arms and ammunitions, manipulations of battle arrays, and the art of management and discipline, who are not too young but of middle age, who are brave, self-controlled, able-bodied, always mindful of their own duties, devoted to their masters and haters of enemies should be made commanders and soldiers whether they are Śûdras or Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas or descended from Mlechchhas.

[3]281-285. There should be appointed a head over five or six foot-soldiers. Such an officer is called *Pattipâla*. The *Gaulmika* is the head of thirty foot-soldiers. The *Śatânîka* is the head of one hundred foot-soldiers. The *Anuśatika* is the head of one hundred foot-soldiers. There should be an officer over one thousand and an officer over ten thousand troops.

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[1] पल्याण—Saddle.

[2] नति—Discipline, rules of etiquette. The Military Department must follow these rules and ceremonials very punctiliously. Hence only well disciplined men can be taken into the army.

L. 279—There is no caste in and for military organisations. The army may be recruited from any caste.

[3] Ranks of the army :—

पत्तिपाल—head of 5 or 6 infantry.
गौल्मिक—Head of 80 „
शतानीक—Head of 100 „
अनुशतिक—Head of 100 infantry.
साहस्रिक—Head of 1,000 „
आयुतिक—Head of 10,000 „

[1]286-287. The man who trains the soldiers in the morning and in the evening in military parades, and who knows the art of warfare as well as the characteristics of battle-fields is the *Śatânîka.*

288. The *Anuśatika* who has these qualifications is a help to the *Śatânîka.*

[2]289-290. The *Senânî* is he who knows of the military necessaries, contingencies, and the battleworthy soldiers and appoints functions to the guards and sentinels.

291-292. The *pattipa* is he who conducts the rotation of watchmen on duty at night. And *gulmapa* knows carefully those on night duty.

[3]293-294. The *Lekhaka* (clerk) is he who knows how many soldiers are there, how much salary has been received by them, where the old soldiers have gone.

295. The master of twenty elephants or of twenty horses is known as the *Nâyaka.*

296. The king should mark the above-mentioned officers with appropriate uniforms.

297-298. Those men are to be masters of goat, sheep, cows, buffaloes, deer, etc., who are skilful in tending and nourishing them and who have love for these animals.

299. Of like qualifications there should be appointed men to serve elephants, camels, &c.

300-302. They are also of warlike dispositions, domesticators of *titira* birds, and good teachers of parrots, and know when *syena* birds fall victims to arrows as well as the inward feelings of these animals.

303-304. That man is to be in charge of gold, jewels, silver and coins who can distinguish their values by their weight, shape, lustre, colour, and resemblances.

305-306. The man who is self-controlled, possesses wealth, knows the arts of politics, considers riches as valuable as life and is very miserly is to be the Treasurer.

307-308. That man is to be in charge of clothing who can distinguish the values of woollen and silken clothes by studying the places of

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[1] **Parades were held twice every day under the supervision of the head of 100 soldiers.**

[2] **The *Senâni* is thus like *Anuśatika* an assistant to *Śatânika*. He is in charge of the commissariat, general health and comfort of the troops under the *Śatânika*, something like a civil attendant of the troops.**

[3] **लेखक—The officer in charge of all facts and figures. He can supply statistics and news about the Military Department.**

origin, the nature of men who have woven them, the fineness and roughness of texture, as well as the durability or otherwise of the fabrics.

309-312. That man is to be Superintendent of tents and furniture, etc., who knows the methods of dyeing, laying out beds, fitting camps, and arrangements of clothes.

313-314. That man is to be the Superintendent of the granary who knows of the species, measurements, values, essential characteristics of the grains, as well as the methods of consuming, collecting and cleansing them.

315-316. The Kitchen Superintendent is he who can distinguish the washed from non-washed food substances, and can distinguish the mixtures and varieties of tastes, who is skilled in the culinary arts and who knows of the attributes of substances.

[1]317-319. The Superintendent of parks and forests is he who knows of the causes of growth and development of flowers and fruits, who knows how to plant and cure the trees by administering proper soil and water at the suitable time, and who knows of their medicinal properties.

[2]320-324. That man is to be the Supervisor of buildings and palaces who can construct palaces, ditches, forts, ramparts, images, machines, and bridges, who can dig wells, lakes, tanks, and can build artificial fountains and pumps for discharging water upwards,—all this very finely according to canons of fine Arts.

[3]325-326. That man is said to be in charge of the household who knows fully of the requisites of the king and collects the things at the proper time.

327-328. That man should be appointed to the post of superintending the religious establishments and institutions who is mindful of his own duty in life, always devoted to religious practices and has no greed and hankering.

329-332. The Superintendent of charities is to be that person who does not disappoint the beggar, does not amass wealth, who is charitable, has no greed, can detect the merits of others, is not slothful, who is kind, gentle in words, knows the proper objects of charity and is very humble.

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[1] आरामाधिपति—Corresponds to Superintendents of Botanical Gardens of modern times.

[2] The qualifications described here are those of the Civil Engineer. In modern times also the officer in charge of Public Works must be a Civil Engineer.

[3] सम्भार—Commodities.

This officer is something like a butler who ministers to the daily wants of the household and keeps things in order.

333-336. Those who are versed in the arts of politics, have intelligence and are men of good deeds, habits and attributes, who are inpartial to friends and foes alike, religious-minded and truthful, who are not slothful, who have conquered the passions of anger, lust and cupidity, who are gentle in speech and old in age should be made members of Council irrespective of caste.

337-338. That man is to be appointed head of hostels and inns for strangers who looks upon all beings as self, who has no hankering and has respect for guests, and who is always charitable.

339-340. The examiner should be he who is devoted to the good of others, who does not divulge other's secrets, who bears no hatred and who appreciates merits of others.

341-342. The chief is he who inflicts punishments in such a way as not to annihilate the subjects and who is neither too cruel nor too lenient.

343-344. The head of the village, like the father and the mother, protects the people from aggressors, thieves and also from officers.

[1]345-346. The gardener collects flowers and fruits after having duly nourished the trees with care. The collector of taxes is to be like him.

[2]347-348. The clerk is to be he who has skill in accounts, who knows of the differences between countries and languages, and who can write without hesitation and without vagueness.

349-350. The sentinel or news-bearer is to be well up in the use of arms and weapons, able-bodied, active in habits, and humble in responding appropriately (to orders).

[3]351-352. That man is a good collector of taxes and duties who realises these from shop-keepers in such a way as not to destroy their capital.

353-354. That man is said to be practising penances who takes regular fasts, systematically observes the rules, regulations and rites of religious life, is bent on meditation, self-controlled, merciful and uncovetous.

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[1] The principle of Taxation is suggested by the art of the gardener who deprives the trees of their products but not of their life. Taxation is a painful necessity but must not be heavy enough to kill the people.

[2] The लेखक must be proficient in Mathematics, History, Geography and Language.

[3] Both as regards शुल्क (*i.e.*, duties or taxes on goods) and भाग (revenue from land) the principle of collection is the same—*viz.*, not to destroy the productive capacity altogether.

355-356. That man is charitable who gives away wealth, wife and sons to those who beg for those and who takes nothing (in return).

357-358. They are known to be *Srutajna* or learned men who can read and teach (the Śrutis, Smṛitis, and the Purâṇas), who have studious habits.

[1]359-360. That man is Paurânika who is master of literature, knows music, has a good voice and is well up in the five aspects of Purâṇas.

[2]361-362. That man is said to be versed in Śâstras who is master of *Mîmâṃsâ*, *Tarka*, *Vedânta*, and authority as evidence, who knows where to place which word and who can ably explain matters to others.

363-364. That man is an astrologer who knows the Saṃhita, Science of Time, Mathematics, and who is aware of the past, present and future conditions of men.

365-366. That man is a *Mântrika* (magician or charmer) who can discover merits and demerits by reciting hymns or incantations according to a certain order, who is devoted to hymns and incantations and who has influence with the spirits.

367-368. That man is known to be a physician who can discover the real nature of diseases by studying their causes, symptoms and remedies, and who attempts prescriptions after knowing them to be curable or incurable.

369-370. That man is a *Tântrika* or an observer of the *Tantras* who tries to propitiate the gods by hymns and mantras other than those of *Srutis* and *Smṛitis* on the conviction that the procedure would do good to him.

371-372. Those who are sexless, who are truthful, sweet-tongued, come of respectable families and are of beautiful forms, should be appointed in the inner apartments.

373-376. The maid-servants are to be those who are faithful to their husbands, practise religious rites and who are able-bodied, not young but middle-aged, skilled in serving, and who are ever ready to do all works however humble.

377-378. They are to be appointed as secret spies who are adepts in understanding the activities of enemies, subjects and servants and who can faithfully reproduce what they hear.

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[1] सर्गादि—The 5 aspects or characteristics of Purâṇas. (1) सर्ग (Creation). (2) प्रतिसर्ग (Destruction. (3) वंश Dynasties. (4) मन्वन्तर (Epochs). (5) वंशानुचरित (Deeds of dynasties). The Purâṇas treat of these 5 topics.

[2] [illegible]—Skilled in the proper use of words.

[1]379-380. The *Vetradharas* are to be those men with arms who can teach people coming to the presence of the king the methods of salutation, etc., as well as the seats they should take.

(?) 381-384. He is the head of the musicians who knows and can produce the seven notes, who knows how to sing in union with music or dance or beat.

385-387. These lines describe the concubines.

388-389. Other servants who can please their master's heart by their work should also be appointed by the king for his own welfare (and satisfaction).

[2]390-392. (Among such attendants are) the songsters who awaken the king in the morning by their music, poets, guards of honour, artisans and artists, fools, ventriloquists, dancers and harlequins, who are always useful.

393-394. Those who construct parks, artificial forests and pleasure-gardens, builders of forts, (gunners) who can pierce the objects they aim at by the balls thrown out of big cannons.

[3]395-396. Those who make lighter machines, gunpowder, arrows, cannon-balls, and swords, and construct various tools and implements, arms and weapons, bows and quivers, &c.

[4]397-398. Those who prepare ornaments of gold, jewels, &c., builders of chariots, stone cutters, blacksmiths and those who enamel metals.

[5]399-400. Potters, coppersmiths, carpenters, roadmakers, barbers, washers, and those who carry nightsoil.

[6]401. Messengers, tailors and bearers of royal emblems and ensigns.

402-403. Those who by the sound of trumpets, drums, conches, pipes, &c., can construct battle arrays, and

404-405. Sailors, miners, fowlers, menials and coolies, repairers of implements, and those who

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[1] These men are masters of high class etiquette.

[2] Here follows an enumeration of the various crafts and industries that, according to *Śukrâchâryya*, should be rightly encouraged. Here is, in short, a picture of the socio-economic life of the age of Śukranîti.

[3] The military industry is described in these 3 lines.

[4] Industries connected with wood, stones, metals and minerals are enumerated here.

[5] The humbler industries are enumerated here.

शौल्विक—Coppersmith.

तक्षक—Carpenter.

[6] सौचिक—Tailor.

406-407. Shop-keepers, prostitutes, those who live upon the musical instruments and their wives, weavers, bird-catchers, artists and leather-merchants.

408-409. Those who repair and cleanse houses, utensils and clothes and winnow grains, those who know how to spread beds and fit out tents, as well as governors(?).

410-411. Those who prepare fragrant resins, and who are skilled in the preparation of betels—all these humble and low workers have to be appointed to their proper works.

412-413. Truth and philanthropy are the two most sacred of all virtues. The king should always have servants having these qualities.

414-415. Envy is the greatest of all sins, mendacity is greater than envy. The king should not have servants having these vices.

416-417. The good servant is he who knows when what is to be said or done and does or says that at the proper time.

418-419. The servant should get up during the last three hours of the night, consider the duties to be performed during the day, ease himself of excreta, remember Vishnu and then have his bath.

420-421. Then he should finish his morning prayers within half a *muhûrta*, go to his place of work and study what should be done and what not.

422-423. Standing at the gate he should obstruct anybody who enters without permission, but let him in when after informing the king he has been ordered to do so.

424-425. The mace-bearer having seen that people have come into the council-room, should communicate to the king their salutations and then point out their seats.

426-427. Then he should go into the palace, and if ordered, come before the king bowing down to him as to the second self of Vishnu.

428-429. He should fix his eyes on half of the master's seat and not cast them anywhere else.

430-431. He should approach the king as a burning fire; the master who is lord of life and wealth is, as it were, a snake infuriated.

432-434. He should ever serve him with care and never consider himself to be anything. He should take up his side and speak sweet words or speak clearly and distinctly when asked by him.

[1]435-436. In disputes or discussions which involve easy problems even if he knows of the opinions of the parties, he should not say anything.

[1] गोष्ठी—Clubs, associations, here discussions, &c.

437-439. He should always be moderate in dress, and when called by the king, with folded hands and bent head, hear what he says. Then having obeyed his command he should inform his own actions.

440. Having bowed down to the king one should take his seat either on the side or in the front according to instruction.

441-442. He should not indulge in loud laughter or coughing, should desist from spitting, abusing, yawning, stretching the limbs as well as relieving the joints of the body.

443-444. He should sit with pleasure at the place where he has been ordered by the king, and give up vanity though he be old and wise.

445-446. The well-wisher should say good words even when unasked if there be some danger, or if there be something wrong in the affairs or if the time appointed for some action is seen to be expiring.

447-448. He should say what is pleasant, true, useful and virtuous, and always explain to him what is his good on terms of equality.

449. He should describe the fame of other kings and narrate the effects of virtuous life.

[1]450-451. "O king, thou art charitable, virtuous, and valorous and livest a moral life. There exists no immoral feeling in your mind."

452-453. He should always mention before him the persons who have been ruined through immorality.

[2]454. 'Thou art superior to kings'—This should be said but superiority to all must not be mentioned.

[3]455-456. The man who is aware of the conditions of time and place always serves the interests of others according to the circumstances (presented before him). He should always say therefore to kings in a manner that does not do harm to others.

457. He should never destroy the interests of the subjects.

458-459. Starved by hunger the Pandit should rather rest even as a dry pillar but he should never resort to means of livelihood that are attended with disrepute.

460. One should be mindful of those activities with which he has been entrusted. One should not desire the rights of another, nor should he envy anybody.

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[1] This is to be the burden of remarks made to the king by visitors.

[2] This is a warning against exaggeration. The king should hear what might encourage him but not what is downright flattery.

[3] Thus the praise that this king is better than many kings is vague and cannot detract from the proper reputation of any specified ruler.

461-462. One should not mark the defects of others but try to remove them as far as possible. There is nothing more efficacious for creating friends than philanthropy.

463-464. One should not put off an action in the wish that 'I shall do your work afterwards,' but should proceed with it at once if possible without keeping it over for long on hope.

465-466. One should not divulge the secret actions or policies of the master—and should never even reflect in mind on envy and ruin about him.

467. One should not glibly consider the king to be one's intimate friend.

468-469. One should give up companionship, intercourse and association with women, hangers-on, vicious men, enemies and those who have been forsaken.

470. One should not imitate the dress and language of the king.

471. Even if one is well-to-do and intelligent, one should not pride in these.

472-473. The skilful man should note the pleasure and displeasure of the king, by studying his inward feelings, outward expressions and movements.

474. He should leave the king when displeased, but should humour him when satisfied.

475-476. During displeasure the king causes one's destruction and the prosperity of the enemy, and by giving rise to hopes, frustrates the fruits.

477-478. Even without anger he looks as if he were angry; and even though looking satisfied, he does no good for he speaks words feelingly but cuts off the grants.

479-480. He faces contrariwise if his virtues are narrated, and he looks to other sides if some work is being done.

481. These are the signs of displeasure. Now I mention the signs of pleasure.

482-483. He is pleased at the sight, hears what one has to say with eagerness, inquires about health and provides seats.

484-485. He does not fear interviewing him in secret, and is known to be well pleased with hearing words of or about him.

486-487. He appreciates even unpleasant remarks coming from him, and accepts his presents though small in amount.

488-489. He remembers him during conversation. These are the marks of royal pleasure. Service should be rendered to him.

490-491. One should always put on the clothes, uniforms and emblems granted by the king, and ever communicate to him the excess or deficit in one's jurisdiction.

492. He should hear of or narrate the stories relating to him.

493-494. If through the fault of spies and secret officers the king says anything wrong, one should hear that in silence but not accept it as a truth.

495. One should never desert a good master who has fallen into distress.

[1]496-497. One should daily wish for the good of him whose food he has taken even once in life. Should not that of the Protector be wished for always?

498-499. The subordinate may become the chief in time through constant service. The chief may also become subordinate through idleness in service.

500-501. The man who is ever serviceable soon becomes the king's favourite. He performs gladly the work that belongs to his jurisdiction.

502. One should not do mean works, and the king should not also order for such.

503-504. But in the absence of one who is to do that work, the king's order should be obeyed. For even superior men have to do inferior works which become duties in time.

505-506. One should not desire harm for one with whom the king is pleased, nor should display the greatness of one's own functions.

507-508. The officers should not envy one another, nor should they ever get into conflicts. For the officers have been appointed by the king each to his own post.

509-510. Where the officers and the king both are in good order there wealth is permanent, extensive and available.

511-512. The king should not express the deeds of another officer though he has heard of them nor should he hear of them through some other source.

513-514. Those officers who do not explain what is good and what is harmful to the king are really his secret enemies in the form of servants.

515-516. The king who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth.

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[1] The two lines teach gratefulness to hosts and kings.

517-518. Those ministers who in concert with princes militate against the king (?) are secret thieves.

519-520. Princes, even if young, should not be disregarded by ministers, but should always be carefully addressed in respectful terms.

521-522. One should never point out the defects of their character to the king. For love of wife and children is very great, their slander is not likely to do good.

523-526. 'I am sure to accomplish first what is absolutely necessary for the king even though at the risk of life. Please command me'—Thus saying one should at once proceed with the work according to one's ability. And one should sacrifice his life even for great deeds and for kings.

527-528. The servant is for maintaining his kith and kin, never for other purposes. All servants exploit wealth, while the king takes life.

529-530. The king takes the life of servants in warfare and other great deeds. And the servant takes away the wealth of the king in the form of wages.

[1]531. If they take otherwise they become destroyers of themselves.

532-533. The king with the princes is always to be respected by *Amâtyas* and other ministers. Below them in respectability comes the order of nine ministers, next the army of officers.

534. The commander of ten thousand infantry is to be respected like the ministers. The commander of one thousand is slightly lower.

535. One should not play like the king, and should encourage him while at play.

536. The queen as well as daughters are not to be disrespected by the ministers.

537. The relatives of the king as well as their friends have to be duly respected.

538. When called by the king one should come immediately to him leaving thousand important actions.

539. One should not express even to a friend the well-considered deeds of kings.

540-541. One should not desire anything more than the salary that is not given and should not want salary in the course of the work.

[1] Both king and servant are thieves in their own ways, by their very functions. So that taking of life and of wealth is legitimate in the two cases. अन्यथा etc. Deviation from these would lead to tyranny and robbery

—Thus if the king kills men in ordinary times he becomes an arbitrary ruler who is soon likely to be overthrown. And if the servants break open the coffers of the state they will be treated as robbers and will have to rot in the jail.

542. One should not destroy the interests of others through greed.

543. One should protect the king by one's own wife, children and wealth at the proper time.

544. One should not receive bribes nor should explain things to the king wrongly.

545-546. One should advise the king for his benefit in some secret place when he is found to be an oppressor and punisher without rhyme or reason.

547. One should not do anything that is good to the king but is harmful to the people.

548. Thus new taxes and duties are vexatious to the people.

[1]549-550. If the king be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should desert him as the ruiner of the state.

551-552. In his place for the maintenance of the state the priest with the consent of the *Prakriti, i.e.*, ministers should install one who belongs to his family and is qualified.

553-554. The man who carries on *astra, i.e.*, missile, should sit at a place beyond the range of the weapon, the man who carries a *sastra, i.e.*, an arm, at a distance of ten cubits, and king's friends where instructed.

555. Ministers and clerks should always sit at a distance of five cubits.

556. The king should not enter the assembly without commanders and without full armour.

557-561. The commander is of a high grade, but the priest is of a superior order; friends and relatives are of the same order. Ministers have a very high status. The officers have a middle position. The audience and clerks are of a low status. The servants and attendants are of the lowest rank. But even lower than these are the menials.

562-564. In receiving the priest and ministers the king should cheerfully get up from his seat, come before them, offer them seats and inquire about their health, &c.

565. In the case of the officers he should sit gracefully.

566-567. The king should have three characters—that of the autumn moon to the learned people, that of the summer sun to the enemies, and that of the spring sun to the subjects.

[1] **Expulsion of the king recommended when he is an enemy of the state.**

568-569. If to people below the rank of Brahmans the king should behave with leniency, these lower orders would overpower him just as the elephant-catchers master elephants.

570-571. The king should not indulge in jokes or sports with the servants. These cause insult to kings and are dangerous to them.

572-573. These lower orders approach the king separately for their self-interest after finishing their work well, for all are selfish.

574-575. They frustrate, disregard and contradict the king's instructions, eat the royal food, do not stay at their own functions.

576-577. They divulge his secrets and make public his bad actions, put on the dress of the king and always deceive him.

578-579. They decorate their wives and laugh when the king is angry, behave shamelessly and disregard the king in a moment.

580. They disobey his orders and do not fear to do misdeeds.

581. These are the defects due to jokes and sports indulged in by the king with men of lower orders.

582-583. The officer or servant is not to do anything without the king's written order. Nor should the king command anything great or small without written order.

584. A written document is the best guide, for to err is human.

585-586. Both the king who commands without writing and the officer who does anything without written orders are thieves.

[1]587. The written document with the king's seal is the real king. The king is not a king.

588-590. The best is the document which bears the king's seal and handwriting. The document written by the king is of a good validity, while that prepared by ministers is tolerable. That written by the citizens is inferior. But all are valid.

[2]591-594. *Amâtyas*, princes and officers who have been entrusted by the king with responsibilities should submit written reports of their work once a day, once a month, once a year or once during many years.

595-596. The officers should keep a memorandum or precis of written orders passed by the king, for with time men forget or mistake past things.

597-598. In ancient times writing was created by *Brahmâ* to remind what happened as the symbol or representative of vocal sounds and tones.

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[1] Here is an abstract conception worthy of the most recent times. The royal seal is the real king, not the person.

[2] Each department to furnish daily, monthly, yearly, quinquennial reports, &c.

599-600. Documents are of two kinds—for describing works or deeds and for keeping accounts of income and expenditure. Each, however, has been greatly diversified through varieties of usage and practice.

[1]601-602. A *jaya patra* or a document of judgment is one that contains an account of the case or suit brought forward, arguments for and against, and also the decision.

603-604. An *âjñâ patra* or document of order is one by which functions are entrusted to tributary chiefs, officers or governors of districts.

605-606. A *prajñâ patra* or document of notification is that by which priests, sacrificers, worshippers and other venerable men are informed of the rites they have to perform.

607-608. A *śâsana patra* or a document of public notice and regulations for the people is that which contains the king's own signature and date and begins in the following way: "Hear ye all, or Notice is hereby given that, etc., such and such things must be done by you, etc."

609-610. A *prasâd patra* or document of pleasure is that by which the king confers lands, etc., on persons satisfied with their services, valour, etc.

[2]611-612. *Bhoga patra* or the documents giving right to enjoyment, the document giving right to the tribute, and the document giving right to presents or privileges may be for generations or for certain stated periods.

613-614. The brothers and relatives who have voluntarily separated themselves from one another frame a document describing the partition. That is called *bhâgalekhya* or partition deed.

[3]615-616. One should frame a document after giving away or bequeathing houses, lands, etc. That is called *dâna patra* or deed of gift which is indestructible and cannot be received back.

617-618. That document is called a deed of sale or purchase which contains an account of the measurements, values and witnesses of the dealings in houses and lands.

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[1] **साध्यार्थं—Matters in dispute, the suit.**

अवधारण—Decision, judgment.

[2] **भोगपत्र—Gifts.**

करदीकृत—Grants of tribute.

उपायनीकृत—Charters of privileges.

उपायन—Present.

[3] **अनुच्छेद्यं—Which cannot be destroyed.**

अनाहार्यं—Which cannot be brought back.

[1] 619-620. A *sâdi patra* is that document which contains an account of the things pledged, values received and witnesses in the matter of a transaction which involves the pawn or pledge of movables or immovables.

621-622. A *satya lekhya* is that agreement which two townships make between themselves while the *samvit patra* is the treaty between two kings to observe dharma without fighting with one another.

623-624. A *rina lekhya* or document of loan is known to be that which contains an account of the witnesses and is framed on the receipt of some money at interest.

625-626. A *śuddhi patra* or document of purgation is that which contains an account of witnesses and is framed after some curse has been worked out or a penance has been duly performed.

[2] 627-628. A *sâmayika patra* or business deed is one which individuals frame after combining their shares of capital for some business concern.

629-630. A document which has not been executed by an assessor or an official or a member of the Court and which is admitted by the opposite party is said to be a deed of compromise.

631-632. The letters that are written to know of each other's works and circumstances should begin with words of blessing and grace and contain reference or reply to previous affairs.

633-634. They should not be vague, and mysterious, but be distinct in letters and words, and should contain the names of themselves and their parents.

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[1] सादिलेख्य—Receipt for a pawn in lieu of certain things placed under certain conditions as to time, use, etc.

[2] मेलयित्वा—Joint-stock companies formed by the combinations of shares स्वधनांश for certain व्यवहार—(commercial transactions).

साधका:—Individual shareholders who want to co-operate and form a company.

[3] The various kinds of business and legal documents enumerated in these lines :—

(1) जयपत्र—Sentence or judgment.
(2) आज्ञापत्र—Order.
(3) प्रज्ञापनपत्र—Instructions to priests, etc.
(4) शासनपत्र—Public Notification.
(5) प्रसादपत्र—Gifts.
(6) भोगपत्र—Enjoyment, usufruct.
(7) भागपत्र—Partition.
(8) दानपत्र—Gifts.
(9) क्रयपत्र—Sale or Purchase.
(10) सादिपत्र—Security or paw[illegible].
(11) सत्यलेख्य—As exp[illegible]d abov[illegible]
(12) संवित्पत्र—Treaty.
(13) ऋणपत्र—Loan.
(14) शुद्धिपत्र—Purification.
(15) सामयिकपत्र—Combined action f[illegible] commercial purposes

635-636. These should be duly attended with the words of respect in singular, dual or plural number and marked with the year, month, fortnight, day, name and caste of the writers.

637-638. A *kshema patra* is that which begins with obeisance or blessing, which fully explains the affairs and is systematic and is meant for master, servant or those who are to be served.

639-640. That which contains all these characteristics and describes an attack upon oneself or refers to some pain suffered is called *bhâshâpatra*.

[1]641-642. Thus have been mentioned in brief the various documents describing deeds or actions together with the characteristic features of each. Now is being described the other class of writings by which account of receipts and disbursements are kept.

[2]643-644. The documents for keeping accounts are of various kinds and designated under different names according to the differences in amount great or small, values and measurements.

[3]645-646. An income denotes the bringing under possession gold, cattle, grains, etc., annually, monthly or daily.

647. An expenditure denotes the giving away of possession of wealth to others.

648. Income may be new as well as old.

[4]649. Expenditure is of two kinds—for enjoyment or for exchange.

650-651. Accumulated wealth is of three kinds, that whose proprietary rights are known to belong to others, that whose owners are not known, and that which is surely one's own.

[5]652. That wealth, the proprietary rights of which belong to others, *i.e.*, the first class of accumulated wealth is, again, of three kinds, that which has been kept as pawn or security by others, that which has been realised by begging, and that which has been collected through loan.

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[1] Besides the 15 classes of हस्तलेख्य mentioned above some others have been enumerated in ll. 631-41. The first may be described as official, business or legal. The others which are of a private nature are:—

(1) क्षेमपत्र

(2) भाषापत्र

[2] व्याप्य—Small.

व्यापक—Many.

[3] Three characteristics of आय—

(1) Commodities.

(2) Possession.

(3) Period of realisation.

[4] 'Consumption,' as the modern economic category is, may be direct as well as indirect. It may be for future production and involve only an exchange of goods.

[5] In modern Public Finance also Debts are shown on the Assets side.

[1]653-655. *Aupanidhika* wealth is that which has been placed with one by good people through confidence. *Yâchita* wealth is that which has been collected without any consideration of interest, *e.g.*, ornaments, &c., while *Auttamarṇika* wealth is that which is borrowed at some interest.

656-657. That wealth whose owners are unknown (*i.e.*, the second class of accumulated wealth) is illustrated by gems and jewels picked up in streets.

[2]658. That wealth which surely belongs to oneself (*i.e.*, the third class of accumulated wealth) is again, of two kinds, normal and artificial.

659-661. That income is said to be normal which grows regularly by days, months or years.

[3]662-664. Profits of sale, interest, wealth realised by services rendered, rewards, remuneration, wealth conquered, &c., all these constitute *adhika* (increase) class of one's own wealth. All else is normal.

665. Accumulated wealth is of two classes, last year's surplus or balance and the current year's receipts.

[4]666-667. Each of *adhika* and *sâhajika* or normal, *i.e.*, each of both the classes of one's own wealth is again of two kinds, *pârthiva* (territorial) and *non-pârthiva*.

668-670. *Pârthiva* income is that which comes of land of the earth. That again is various owing to various sources, *e.g.*, natural waters, artificial waters, villages and cities.

Income from the land is again divided into various classes owing to the divisions of land and great, small or medium amounts.

[5]671-672. The duties, fines, royalties on mines, presents and

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[1] Both the last two species of receipts have to be paid back. But there is an interest in one case while the other is gratuitous or friendly help.

[2] साहजिक—Naturally accruing, normal.

अधिक—Increase (profits) from business, &c.

[3] The अधिक class would be what is known as quasi-economic receipts of states in modern times, *i.e.*, revenues accruing not from the normal functions of the state as a political organisation, but from those of the state as a business concern, owner of property, capitalist, &c.

[4] पार्थिव—Pertaining to the earth, land, soils, &c.

[5] भाटक—Wages, price paid for the use of any thing.

The schedule of income as described in the above lines is given below:—

I. निश्चितान्यस्वामिकं—Belonging to others.

(1) औपनिध्य—Pawn placed by others as deposit.

(2) याचितक—Begged, *e.g.*, ornaments, &c.

(3) औत्तमर्णिक—Loan.

II. अज्ञातस्वामिक—Whose owners are unknown, *e.g.*, things picked up in streets, which escheat to the state.

contributions, &c., are known to constitute non-territorial income according to writers and specialists.

673. Expenditure is named after the purpose for which wealth has been realised.

674. Expenditure also can be both great and small.

675. Expenditure falls into two heads—that which will come back, and that which destroys the right for ever.

676-677. That disbursement is said to be *âbritta*, *i.e.*, to have the attribute of being able to come back which is hoarded, deposited with others, exchanged, or lent to debtors with or without interest.

678-681. *Nidhi* is that which is hidden underground, *upanidhi* is that which is placed with others as deposit. That is said to *vinimayî-krita* or exchanged which is received on payment of some price. That is said to be *âdhamarṇika* which is given to others with or without an increase. Of these that with interest is called a loan or *Riṇa*, that without interest is called *yâchita* or got by begging.

682. That which does away with proprietary right is of two kinds, worldly and other-worldly.

683-684. *Aihika* or worldly disbursement is divided into four classes—price or return of value, reward, salary and food (and other necessaries). *Pâralaukika* or other-worldly disbursement (is innumerable and) admits of infinite divisions.

686-688. *Pratidâna* is known to be that which is paid by way of price. *Pâritoṣika* is that which is paid as reward for service, valour, etc. *Vetana* is that which is paid as salary or wages.

689-691. *Upabhogya* is said to be that which is paid for grains, clothing, houses, parks, cattle, elephants, chariots, etc., acquisition of learning, kingdoms, wealth as well as for protection.

III. स्वस्वत्व—One's own property :—

(1) साहजिक—Normal, accruing to the state as a political organisation :

(a) पार्थिव—Terrestrial—coming from the *rights of sovereignty* over lands, rivers, seas, lakes, tanks, wells, &c.

(b) इतर—Non-terrestrial—taxes, duties, fines, presents, royalties, prices.

(2) आधिक—Increase—*quasi-economic* or semi-private receipts—(i) Profits, (ii) Interest, (iii) Fees, (iv) Rewards, (v) Salary, (vi) Booty.

(a) पार्थिव—Accruing from *dealings* in lands, waters, &c.

(b) इतर—Income from dealings in taxes, fines, &c.

692-696. Houses are meant for gold, jewels, silver, coins, etc., musical instruments, arms and weapons, clothes, grains and other necessaries, ministers, arts, play, physician, cattle, cooking and birds. Expenditure on these items is called *bhogya.*

697. *Pâralaukika* expenditure is of four classes—that for penances, sacrifices, worship and charity.

699-701. Both income and expenditure are of two classes, *âvartaka* and *nivarti.*

702-703. The accountant or scribe who keeps accounts of income and expenditure should part with goods after writing and receive goods after writing in such a way as not to cause diminution or increase in amount.

704-706. Incomes and expenditures are of various kinds owing to the varieties of source, amount, relation, as well as measurement, number, and weight.

707-708. For business purposes experts desire sometimes the number, sometimes the weight as methods of measurement.

709-710. A *Mâna* is known to be the standard of the *aṅgula, Unmâna* is known to be the standard of the balance, *Parimâṇa* is the standard of vessels. *Saṃkhyâ* is the standard of numerical notation one, two, &c.

711. One should use these standards according to the needs of each case.

712-713. *Drabya* or goods is silver, gold, copper, coined for commercial purposes, *cowries* and gems for use.

714. *Dhana* or wealth is cattle, grains, clothes and grass.

715-716. Gold which belongs to ownself acquires a value in commercial transactions and an object comes into existence on this earth through the concurrence of several causes.

717. The *mûlya* of a commodity is the price paid for acquiring it.

[1]718-719. Prices of commodities are high or low according as they are attainable with or without ease and according as they do or do not possess attributes.

720-721. One should not fix a low price for gems and minerals. Their depreciation is due to wickedness of kings.

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[1] In determining the value or price of a commodity two points are to be noticed—(1) सुलभासुलभ—Ease or difficulty of attainment—referring to the cost of production determining the supply, (2) अगुणत्वगुणसंश्रय,—Its utility or power of satisfying wants, etc., because of its properties—referring to the demand for it determined by its uses.

729-730. The king after seeing and studying the document should place his handwriting wherever he likes.

731-738. The *Mantri*, Chief Justice, learned adviser as well as the ambassador should write "This document has been written with my consent." The *Amâtya* should write 'Well written is this,' the *Sumantra* then should write 'Well considered.' The *Pradhâna* should write 'True.' The *Pratinidhi* is to write 'It can now be approved.' The Crown-Prince should write 'It should be accepted.' And the Priest is to write 'approved.'

[1]739-740. They should put down their seals over it at the end of the writing. And the king is to write and sign 'accepted.'

741-744. As it is not possible for the king to see fully all details owing to the pressure of work (multiplicity of duties,) the documents are generally to be examined by the Crown-Prince and other advisers who are to write upon it with their seals. And the king should at once write 'Seen.'

745-746. Incomes should be written first, then the disbursements; or incomes towards the left and disbursements towards the right of the page.

747-773. These lines describe the technique of keeping accounts and will not prove interesting to the general readers.

774. Writing has been described in brief which is an aid to men's memory.

775-776. *Gunja*, *Mâsha*, *Karsha*, *Padârdha*, and *Prastha*, each is equivalent to ten times the item preceding it. An *âdhaka* is equivalent to five *prasthas*.

[2]777-778. Eight *âdhakas* constitute one *armaṇa*, twenty *armaṇas* make one *khârikâ*. These measures differ with countries.

779-780. A vessel five *angulas* deep and four *angulas* wide is known to be the measure of a quarter of *prastha* by specialists.

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[1] Each document is thus to contain the signatures and seals of all the ten *Prakritis* or advisers of the king as well as of the king himself and the Crown-Prince. So that everybody is accountable for the deed.

[2]
10 गुञ्ज	...	...	...	...	1 माष
10 माष	...	...	...	...	1 कर्ष
10 कर्ष	...	...	...	...	1 पदार्द्ध
10 पदार्द्ध	...	...	...	...	1 प्रस्थ
5 प्रस्थ	...	...	...	...	1 आढक
8 आढक	...	...	...	...	1 अर्मण
20 अर्मण	...	...	...	...	1 खारिका

781-782. Numbers, either in ascending or descending order are written from left to right and these being successively multiplied by ten reach up to the numeration called "Parardha" (10^{17}).

783-787. It is not possible to define number owing to the immensity of time. The lifetime of Brahmâ is said to be two *parârdhas* by the learned—unit, tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions, &c.

788-789. Time is divided according to three systems—Solar movement, Lunar movement and according to *Sâvana.*

789-790. In making payments of wages one should always take the solar time, in augmenting interest one should take the lunar time. And the *Sâvana* system should be followed in [giving] daily wages.

791-792. Remuneration can be paid according to time, work or according to both. It is to be paid therefore as arranged, *i.e.*, according to contract.

793-794. 'This weight is to be carried by you thither, and I shall give you so much for your work.' Remuneration calculated on this system is according to work.

795-796. "Every year, month or day I shall pay you so much." Remuneration calculated on this idea is according to time.

797-798. 'So much work has been done by you in so much time I shall pay you therefore so much.' Remuneration thus calculated is according to both time and work.

799-802. One should neither stop nor postpone payment of salary. Moderate remuneration is said to be that which supplies the indispensable food and clothing. Good wages is that by which food and clothing are adequately supplied. Low wages is that by which only one can be maintained.

803-804. According to the qualifications of the workers there should be the rates of wages fixed by the king carefully for his own welfare.

[1]805-806. Wages is to be so fixed that the worker may maintain those who are his compulsory charges.

[2]807-808. Those servants who get low wages are enemies by nature.

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[1] The equitable rate of wages is that which considers not simply the absolute necessaries of life but recognises the 'standard of life and comfort' as implied in the care for family and dependants.

[2] [illegible]—Political and social effects of low wages. In considering the Labour Question and the rate of wages Sukrâchâryya takes the essentially modern view that low wages is the cause of sundry social and moral evils. And his equitable standard anticipates by centuries the socialistic cries for 'higher life' to be lived by the working classes.

They are auxiliaries to others and seekers of opportunities and plunderers of treasure and people.

809. Wages of Śûdras is to be just enough for food and raiment.

810. The man who maintains meat-eaters is visited with their sin.

811-812. The wealth that is stolen by the Brahman leads to good life hereafter, and the wealth that is given to the Śûdra leads only to hell.

813-814. Servants are of three kinds—inactive, ordinary and quick. Their wages therefore have to be low, ordinary, and high respectively.

815-816. For the discharge of their domestic duties servants should be granted leave for one *yâma* during day time and three *yâmas* by night. And the servant who has been appointed for a day should be allowed for half a *yâma*.

817-818. The king should make them work except on occasions of festivities, but in festivities also if the work be indispensable excepting in any case the days of *Srâddha*.

819-821. He should pay a quarter less than the usual remuneration to the diseased servant, pay three months' wages to the servant who has served for five years ; six months' wages to the servant who has been long ill ; but not more to anybody.

822-824. Even a slight portion should not be deducted from the full remuneration of a servant who has been ill for half a fortnight. And a substitute should be taken of one who has lived for even one year. And if the diseased be highly qualified he should have half the wages.

825. The king should give the servant fifteen days a year respite from work.

826-827. The king should grant half the wages without work to the man who has passed forty years in his service.

828-829. For life, and to the son if minor and incapable, half the wages, or to the wife and well behaved daughters.

830-831. He should give the servant one-eighth of the salary by way of reward every year, and if the work has been done with exceptional ability one-eighth of the services rendered.

Do these economic theories and conceptions of *Śukranîti* point to the actual economic condition of the age depicted in it ? There are other features in the treatise, economic, political and social, which suggest a highly complicated and comparatively modern organisation. It is very likely the Problem of Labour also was acute and Śukrâchâryya had to face those problems which have tried the financial skill and statesmanlike ability of the greatest ministers of states in the ancient city-republics as well as modern empire-states.

832-833. He should give the same salary to the son of the man who died for his work, so long as he is a minor, otherwise should pay the remuneration according to the offspring's qualifications.

[1]834-835. He should keep with him (as deposit) one-sixth or one-fourth of the servant's wages, should pay half of that amount or the whole in two or three years.

836-837. The master by harsh words, low wages, severe punishments and insult brings out in the servant the attributes of the enemy.

838-839. Those who are satisfied with wages and honoured by distinctions and pacified by soft words never desert their master.

840-841. The worst servants desire wealth, the medium want both wealth and fame, the best want fame. Reputation is the wealth of the great.

842-843. The king should satisfy both his servants and subjects according to their qualifications, some by spreading out branches, others by giving fruits.

844-845. He should gratify the others by gentle looks and smiles, soft words, good feast and clothes, and betels and wealth ;

846-848. Somebody by inquiries about health, etc., and the grant of privileges, bearers, ornaments and uniforms, umbrellas, *châmar*, &c.

849-852. By mercy, obeisance, respect, attendance, services, knowledge, love, affection, association, offer of half one's seat or the full seat, praise or recital of the deeds done for the good of others.

853-855. He should mark those who have been his employees by the proper insignia of office placed on steel, copper, bronze, silver, gold and jewels.

856-857. For distinguishing from distance he should separate the officers by clothing, crowns, and musical instruments, &c.

858. The king should not give to anybody the uniform that is peculiarly his own.

[2]859-861. Ten advisers have been mentioned beginning with Priest. All of them are of the Brahman caste. In their absence Kshatriyas are to be appointed, Vaiśyas in their absence again but never Śûdras are to be appointed even if they be qualified.

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[1] The idea of establishing a Provident Fund is unmistakably suggested here.

[2] Here is a solution of the difficulty as to how each adviser could be made to take the responsibility of all departments.

862-863. The village head should be appointed a Brahman, the clerk is to be a *Kâyastha*. The tax-collector is a Kshatriya. The lord of *sahasa* is also a Kshatriya.

864. The Collector of duties is a Vaiśya, and the sentinel is of Śûdra caste.

865-866. The Commander is to be a Kshatriya, and in his absence a Brahman. Neither Vaiśya nor Śûdra nor a coward.

867. The Commander is to be valorous and so may be selected from all castes.

868. This [fighting] is the duty of the four pure as well as of the mixed castes, although it is not a holy [duty].

869. The king augments the happiness of the caste to which he himself belongs.

870-874. The servant should desert such a king as does not remember good done for him, is not satisfied with good service, does not remember the connexions between remarks, is suspicious, and gives pain to feelings when aggrieved.

875. Here have been narrated the marks as well as functions of princes and others.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL RULES OF MORALITY.

1. Now are being explained to all the ordinary rules of social polity.

2-3. The activities of all creatures are known to have happiness for their end. There can be no happiness without morality. So one should be devoted to morality [dharma].

4-5. Let not one try to get mokṣa without trying to acquire the other three [*viz*, dharma, artha and kâma], and let him constantly follow [the path of] mokṣa without discarding the other three. This is the [golden] mean in all religions.

6-7. One should have low hair, nails and beards and clean feet and glands, should have daily baths, use scents and decent clothing, but should not be excessively gaudy.

8-9. One should always bear medicinal substances in jewels etc. consecrated by *mantras*, have umbrellas and shoes and walk in the streets with eyes fixed on the straight path only.

10. And at night on occasions connected with death one should be a stick-bearer and have a head-dress.

[1]11. One should not mind other business while under a call of nature nor should use force to stop that call.

12. One should follow with respect friends who do good but keep others at distance.

13-15. One should give up by mind, body and speech the following ten sins: Envy, stealing, illegitimate passions, depravity, harshness, untruthfulness, divulgence of secrets, evil design, atheism and perverseness.

16-17. Man by practising virtues as far as possible does earn merits. There is no doubt about it.

18-19. One should not do in deed the sin that one has thought of in mind. According to religious men one has to enjoy the effects (of sinful work).(?)

20-22. One should serve as far as possible people who are out of employment, who are diseased and who are aggrieved, should always look

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[1] *Śukranîti*, as has been explained above, is not a treatise on political organisation only but is the comprehensive art of life. So one may find economic maxims and precepts in it as well as social and hygienic rules.

In the last few lines we have an account of what the householder's physical and material life is to be. The use of shoes, sticks, head-dress, scents, umbrellas and charmed amulets is recommended.

upon even ants and worms as oneself, and even if the enemy be harmful, should be doing good to him.

23. He should have the same attitude towards prosperity and adversity, and envy not their results but their causes.

24. He should speak good, moderate, consistent, and sweet words at the proper time.

25. He should be cheerful, well-behaved, kind and gentle.

26. He should not be happy alone, should not trust every body, and should not be suspicious (or timid).

27-28. He should not declare anybody to be his enemy nor himself to be anybody's enemy, and should not publish the insults or cruelties of the master.

[1]29-30. He should be wise in humouring others by attending to their likes and dislikes and ministering to them in the manner satisfactory to them.

31-32. He should neither repress the senses nor indulge them excessively. The senses run riot easily destroy the mind.

33-34. The antelope, the elephant, the fly, the bee and the fish—these five are ruined through sound, touch, form, smell and taste.

35. Of these the touch of females captivates the heart of even the *muni*.

36. So one should duly enjoy these things with restraint.

[2]37. One should not sit very near mother, sister and daughter.

38. One should call a female according to the relationship, and address her whether related or unrelated as good sister.

39-43. Living with other persons, speaking with them even publicly, independence even for a moment, and residence in their houses should not be granted to females by the husband, father, king, son, father-in-law and relatives ; nor leisure for any thing besides domestic duties.

44-47. The woman gets disgusted with the husband who is cruel, barbarous, severe, always abroad, very poor and sickly, and attached to other women, and takes to some other man. Hence men should carefully avoid these defects to keep their wives.

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[1] [illegible]—Tendencies.

[2] [illegible]—Glands which secrete refuse matter from the body. *e.g.*, eyeglands, armpits, &c.

[illegible]—Excessive.

48-49. One should keep his wife and children by giving them as far as possible clothing, food, love and affectionate words, as well as living always very near them.

50-51. One should not visit places sacred because of *chaityas*, holy flags, shades, ashes, or regions covered with dusts, stones, or places for sacrifices and baths.

52-53. One should not cross the river by arms, nor approach a fallen fire, nor should climb a boat or a tree that is likely to give way, nor (also get into) a bad vehicle.

[1] 54-55. One should not turn up the nose nor scratch the ground, should not press the head by folded hands, attempt useless things by the limbs o. remain intoxicated for long.

56. One should desist from activities of body, mind and speech before fatigue.

57-59. One should not keep the thighs up for long, and at night should not go under trees, or to court-yards, *chaitayas*, squares (crossings of streets) and liquor houses.

60. One should not go to solitary forests, unoccupied houses and cremation-grounds even by day.

61. One should not always look to the sun and should not carry weight by the head.

62. One should not constantly see minute things or burning, (bright) impure and unpleasant substances.

63-64. One should not take food, or dream, study and think about women, sell liquor, practise aiming and receive or give any thing in the evening.

65-66. Ordinary people are the guides and instructors of the wise men for all ordinary activities. Hence the men versed in *Śâstras* should follow these people for social functions.

67-68. One should not abuse the king, the country, the race, the family and the religion, and should not even mentally break the custom of the folk though that were possible.

69. One should remedy what has been said or done improperly—not however by force but by reason.

70-71. Men are very rare who can openly declare their vices. Hence the wise man should forsake the undesireables by finding them out from public opinion as well as the rules of *Sâstras*.

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[1] विगुण—Useless.

[illegible]—Intoxicated

72. One should not ever in mind reflect on the immorality that looks very like morality.

73-74. 'I am guilty of thousand offences, what if I commit one more?' One should not practise vice by thinking in this way, for a vessel is filled by drops.

75-76. 'How should my days and nights pass in the future?' One should not thus be a pessimist but should always remember (past things).

[1]77-78. One should first get rid of arrays of compound argumentative discourses, and rules got-up or made according to one's desires, reject the hymns, praises and adulations and then carefully collect the spirit or essence (of Śâstras).

[2]79-80. The theory of religion and moral is very complicated hence people should practise the rules of *Śruti*, *Smṛiti* and *Purâṇas* which have been followed by the good men.

81-82. The king should neither protect nor allow residence to the friend, son, preceptor, thief and enemy who are addicted to vicious practices.

83-84. One should know the following six classes of enemies—those who set fire, poisoners, armed ruffians, robbers of wealth, plunderers of fields and seducers of wives.

85-86. The wise man should never for a moment disregard the wife, the child, the disease, the slave, the cattle, wealth, studies and attendance to the good.

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[1] Here is Śukrâchâryya's advice as to the interpretation and acceptance of Śâstras. He refers to the difficulties arising out of the peculiar characteristics of the Sanskrit language and of the Hindu written documents as well as out of the tendencies of people to interpolate, add, or take away texts according to the needs of the time. It, therefore, requires great skill on the part of guardians of society to remove the extraneous matter and find out the real spirit of some injunction.

समासव्यूह—The peculiar arrangement of compounds. This grammatical difficulty is of no mean order. For तत्पुरुष and बहुव्रीहि compounds of the same words give thoroughly different interpretation. These, therefore, have to be first considered.

कृत Got up—Interpretations or texts may be concocted or interpolated.

हेत्वादि—Long chains of argumentative reasoning and interpretation, when found in text-books, are real hindrances not helps to those who seek truth and want guidance.

स्तुत्यर्थवाद—Exaggerations and overstatements of which Hindu treatises are full should be carefully weighed before the injunctions of the *Śâstras* can be accepted for practical life.

[2] The moral and religious guide is not the book but the man.

87-88. One should not live for a day at a place where the king, the rich people, the priest, the physician, the custom and the country are antagonistic to him.

89-90. One should not live for a day at a place where the officers are impotent, and females and children barbarous, foolish and adventurous.

91-94. One should not wish for wealth, fame, life and residence at a place where the king is indiscreet, councillors are partial, the learned men are deserters of good paths, witnesses are liars and where there is predominance of the female and the lower folks.

95-96. What is the good of crying at a place where the mother does not nourish in infancy, the father does not educate well and the king is the robber of wealth?

97-98. What is the good of crying at a place where the friends, relatives and the kings are angry even though they are well served, and the house is liable to be destroyed by fire or thunder?

99-100. What is the good of crying at a place where through neglecting the advice of authorities and conducting oneself through pride evil consequences ensue?

101-102. One should always carefully respect the king, the god, the preceptor, the fire, the ascetic and the man who is old in age and virtue.

103-104. One should never even mentally go against or do harm to the mother, the father, the preceptor, the husband, the brother, the son and the friend.

105-106. One should not fight with relatives or challenge the powerful or quarrel with the women, children and the elderly and the foolish people.

107-108. One should not eat good things alone, study problems and interests alone, travel in the streets alone, or keep up alone among sleeping men.

109-110. One should neither follow nor obstruct the duties of another man; and should never sit on the same seat with people who are of inferior grades in character and work and with females.

111-113. The following six vices have to be got rid of by men who want prosperity in this world—sleep, sluggishness, fear, anger, laziness, and procrastination. There is no doubt that these are great hindrances to work.

114-115. The man who is resourceful, practises Yoga, is learned in theories and is brilliant in intellect, is always mindful of his own duty and abstains from the pursuit of others' wives.

116-117. One should be a good speaker, know the significance of words and their position, be a word-painter and always cheerful in expressions, should always hear for long and understand very quickly.

118. One should enjoy one's goods after knowing them.

119. One should not disclose his excessive zeal for sale or purchase and his own misery.

120-121. One should not enter another man's house without business and without permission and unasked should not say to anybody things happening in one's house.

122-123. One should make his talk with few words but of much significance for the accomplishment of his object, and should not give out his own opinions without [fully] understanding [the subject-matter].

124. After having fully known other's opinions

125. One should not make father or son witnesses to the quarrel between husband and wife.

126-127. One should mature policies in careful secrecy and should not forsake the man who takes shelter with him, should wish to work to the best of his ability, and should not get dispirited under danger while working.

128-129. One should not touch any man to the quick and should not say false things about anybody. One should not abuse anybody nor make anybody indulge in madness.

[1]130. An action which is religious but disapproved by the people does not lead to heaven.

131. Whose words do not frustrate themselves by their own logic?

132. One should make reply after careful consideration and not speak abruptly.

133. The merits of even enemies have to be recognised while the demerits of even preceptors have to be got rid of.

134-135. Neither prosperity nor adversity is likely to be permanent. It is only the work of past lives that is the cause of permanent wealth or misery.

136. Hence one should not diminish love in all creatures.

137-138. The king should ever be far-sighted and have presence of mind; should never be adventurous, slothful or procrastinating.

1 [illegible]—The possibility of a conflict between formal morality (and religious codes) and people's conscience is here suggested. The advice of Śukrâchâryya is to follow the *Vox populi.*

139-140. The man who proceeds with a work after knowing it to be highly difficult, and who has long views at the commencement enjoys happiness for ever.

141. The man who has presence of mind can proceed with the work as he gets it.

142. Success is doubtful either through fickleness or through difficulty of the work.

143-144. The man who does not attempt the work even at the proper time is lazy. He can never have success and is ruined with his family.

145-146. The adventurous man is he who commences a work without knowing the effects—is sure to be unhappy either through the action or its effects.

147-148. The procrastinating man is he who does little work in much time. He suffers from insignificance of results. One should therefore be far-sighted.

149-151. Work done adventurously may sometimes bear good fruits. Sometimes even well-considered actions are futile. Yet one should never do anything abruptly, such actions are harmful.

152-153. Sometimes good comes out of evil actions. And the evil which comes out of a good action is not the source of evils.

154-155. That work is not to be suspected which is avoided by the servant, the brother, the son, and the wife but done by the friends.

156-157. The foolish man who without knowing fully [the capacity of] a friend, employs him in some act of friendship, gets his object frustrated.

158-159. The mental attribute of any man cannot be easily discovered. So one should try to acquire friends. Acquisition of friends is happiness to men.

160-161. One should not confide too much in any trustworthy person, *e.g.*, the son, the brother, the wife, the ministers or the officers.

162. Since the desire for wealth, women and kingdom is great in all men

163-164. One should trust only those actions which have been tried and proved. Having placed confidence in some body as oneself one should weigh his action personally.

165. He should not consider his words useless or antagonistic simply by reasoning.

166-167. One should forgive the trustworthy person if his action leads to loss of one sixty-fourth part of its fruit. The man who is religious, moral and powerful should keep up friendship with him.

168-169. One should honour the respectable persons with gifts, distinctions, &c., and should never be severe in punishment or harsh in words.

170-171. Even the wife and the son get terrified by punishment and harsh words. Even beasts get tamed through gifts and sweet words.

172-173. One should never be mad or vain with learning, valour, wealth, birth or strength.

174-175. The man who is proud of his learning does not care for the advice of the authorities and considers even harmful things as desirable as useful things.

176-178. The man who, proud of his valour, abandons the path followed by the people loses his life by rashly undertaking warfare, and though armed, by giving up the recognised military tactics.

179-180. The man who is proud of his wealth does not know of his own infamy just as the goat uses his urine to wash his own urine-scented mouth.

181-182. So also the man who is proud of his birth disregards all persons, good as well as other men, and directs his attention to bad actions.

183-184. The man who is proud of his strength applies his mind rashly to warfare ; obstructs everybody by his strength or even the animals.

185-186. The man who is proud of his distinction looks upon the whole world as a piece of straw. The worthless man also desires the most precious of all seats.

187. These are known as *mada* or passions of the vain and the following are the *dama* or virtues of the good.

188-189. The result of learning is wisdom and humility, that of wealth is sacrifice and charity, that of strength is known to be the protection of the good.

190. The result of valour is that enemies are subdued and made tributaries.

191. The simple result of good birth is contentment and moderation.

192. The result of fame is that all are like oneself.

193-194. One should give up vanity and carefully receive knowledge, *mantra*, medicine, wife and gems even from low families.

195. One should give away that when received, which one does not care for when lost.

196-197. One should neither caress or repress too much the wife or the child, but should appoint them to domestic duties and to studies respectively.

198-199. One should not take anything however small belonging to others which is not given, should not publish the vice of any man and should not abuse the wife.

200-201. One should not give false evidence and stop the evidence that has been produced, but should speak untruth when life or great affairs are at stake.

202-203. One should not point out, even where known, the poor man to the man who wants to give away his daughter in marriage, the moneyed man to the thief and the man who has hidden himself to the murderer.

204-205. One should not create dissensions between the husband and wife, mother and father, brother and brother, master and servant, sister and sister, friend and friend, or between preceptor and disciple.

206. When two persons are talking, though even seated, do not go between them.

207. One should attend to friend, brother and relative as to one's own self.

208-209. One should honour by questions of health, gifts of water, etc., the man who though humble, has come to his house.

210-211. One with sons should not ask his daughter who has children to live in his house or the sister with her husband ; but should maintain them when they are widowed.

212-213. The snake, the fire, the wicked man, the king, the son-in-law, the nephew, the disease and the enemy—these are not to be disregarded as being too small.

214-215. One should deal with these from the standpoint of cruelty, sharpness, wickedness, sovereignty, daughter's prestige, one sharing in the privilege of offering manes to the ancestors, increase and fear.

216. One should not preserve anything of debt, illness and enemy as remainder.

217-218. Asked for something by suppliants one should not make harsh reply, but do what they want or ask somebody to do that.

219-220. One should eagerly listen to the praises of the charitable, the religious minded and the valorous, but should never care for their blemishes.

221-222. A man should take good and moderate food and walk at the proper time, eat after giving to the gods, live in pleasure, always have sweet thoughts and be pure.

223 He should always enjoy, eat and commit nuisance in private places.

224. He should be always active and take part in physical exercises with pleasure.

225. One should not abuse food, and if quite well should accept friendly feasts.

226. The best menu of food is that which contains all the six tastes beginning with sweet.

227. This is about enjoyment (carnal).

228. The best exercise is fight and wrestling with the expert athletes.

229. Sleep is best during night excluding the first and last Yâma.

230. The miserable, the blind, the dwarf and the dumb are never to be laughed at.

231. One should not apply one's mind to wrong deeds but carry out one's own duties without delay.

232-233. The man should give up vanity (and do his duty) by perseverance, strength, intelligence, patience, rashness or prowess.

[1]234. If the task is accomplished by quarrel, quarrel is good.

235. Otherwise life, wealth, friend, fame—all these are destroyers of happiness.

236. One should not say undesirable things to, and should not look to the defects of, anybody.

237. Commands of the great and of the king are not to be violated.

238. One should advise even the preceptor who appoints one to an evil action.

239. But one should not disregard an inferior person even when he prompts him to good action.

240-241. One should not leave his place by making the young wife dependent on herself. Women are the roots of evils. Can young females be left with others?

242. One should not get intoxicated with spirituous liquors and should not indulge in evil company.

243-248. The chaste wife, step-mother, mother, daughter, father, wife, widowed daughter, or sister who has no offspring, aunt, brother's wife, sister of father or mother, grandfather, preceptor who has no son,

[1] The work is to be done by hook or by crook.

father-in-law, uncles, grandson who is young and orphan, brother, sister's son,—these must be maintained carefully to the best of one's ability even under adverse circumstances.

249-250. In times of prosperity one should maintain the families of both parents, friends, wife's family, and the attendants, servants, and maid-servants.

251. One should maintain also the deformed, the stranger, the poor and the helpless.

[1]252-253. Woe to the man who does not take care to maintain his kith and kin. All his virtues go for nothing. In fact, though living he is dead.

[2]254-255. What is the value of his life who does not maintain relatives, who does not subdue enemies and who does not protect things acquired?

256-257. The man who is mastered by his wife, the debtor, the valetudinary, the beggar, the worthless, and the man who is dependent on enemies—all these are dead though possessing life.

258-259. One should hide the number of years lived, wealth, domestic follies, *mantra*, carnal enjoyments, medicines, charity, honour and insult.

260-261. One should without loth undertake travels, attend royal courts, study Śâstras, see prostitutes and make friends with the learned.

262-263. Through travel the numerous religions (customs), materials, animals, races of men, hills, etc., come within the cognisance of man.

[3]264-267. The man who habitually attends courts and assemblies, acquires knowledge as to the character of kings and royal officers, the nature of justice and injustice, the men who falsely quarrel and the men who have real grounds of conflict, and the procedure of cases and suits both customary and legal.

268. One who studies the truths of *Śâstras* cannot be vain and bigoted.

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[1] No more powerful account of the joint-family system can be devised than that given in these lines.

[2] The *sanction* for co-operative domestic life as opposed to competitive individualism is also very strong.

[3] Education in politics through taking part in administrative institutions even as audience is highly recommended in modern times.

[1]269. But one who studies only one *Śâstra* cannot decide upon any course of action.

[2]270-271. The intelligent man, therefore, should inspect many sciences and always study carefully many *Śâstras.*

272-274. The prostitute takes others' money but does not become their slave, on the other hand is competent enough to overpower them, so one should come under nobody's authority but have the world under oneself.

275-276. Through associates with learned men meanings of *Śruti, Smṛiti, Purâṇas* are known and intelligence gets quickened.

277-278. One should never eat food without giving it to the gods, ancestors and guests. The man who cooks for himself only through foolishness lives only to go to hell.

279-280. One should give the road to superiors, the strong, the diseased, the corpse, the king, the respectable people, the man who is observing a vow and also to the man who goes in a conveyance.

281-282. One should keep five cubits from the carriage, ten cubits from the horse, one hundred cubits from the snake, and ten cubits from the ox.

283-284. One should not trust the abodes of the horned, nailed and toothed animals, the wicked people, rivers and women.

285-286. One should not, while eating, go along a street or speak with laughter, should not sue for what is lost or talk of one's own deeds.

287-288. One should leave the company of those who fear himself, give up the service of the lower orders and should never hear stealthily the conversation of others.

289-290. One should not desire work with the superiors unless requested by them. The head of Râhu was cut down through drinking with the gods.

291-292. Evil actions of the great become their ornaments as it were. The drinking of poison by *Śiva* would cause death to others.

293. The powerful man can destroy everything just like pure fire.

294. One should not stand in the presence of the preceptor, the king and the superiors.

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[1] Practical life is so organised that one aspect is dependent on another So for the guidance of man all the sciences have to be requisitioned. Otherwise the injunctions will be too narrow, one-sided and conflicting.

[2] An art is based on many sciences. The art of human life is thus built up on many Social Sciences. Hence the necessity of having a multiplicity of subjects in a course of studies whether for pupils or for guardians of states,

295. One should not desire anything even mentally on the strength that 'the king is my friend.'

296-297. One should not desire sovereignty over or subjection to fools, chivalry with the great, flattering the people who are proud of their little learning.

298-299. The wise man takes to his duties in the order of their importance as absolutely necessary, unnecessary, etc., or in the order of their arrival as received first, last, soon or late, etc.

300-301. The procrastination of Gautama's son in the evil action of killing his mother, though commanded by his father, has been well honoured.

302-306. One should always master the world by love, association, praise, submission, service, artifice, arts, words, wisdom, affection, simplicity, valour, charity, learning, getting up or coming in front to receive superiors, words spoken with cheerful smiles, and benefits rendered.

307-309. These methods of subjugation are quite useless with regard to wicked people. The wise man therefore should leave their company, and if possible should overpower them by force of punishment, stratagems or such like methods.

310-311. The study of *Sruti*, *Smriti*, *Purāṇas* together with the *Aṅgas*, *Upavedas* and *Kalās* is always beneficial to man.

312. Hunting, gambling, girling and drinking—these are the passions of man.

313. One should give up these four and be rational.

314-315. One should not use craft in dealing with anybody or destroying his income, and should not even mentally desire harm to anybody.

316-317 That action is good which makes the three epochs become firm, *e.g.*, which leads to attainment of heaven after death, and fair and permanent reputation while alive.

322. One should not imitate either the king or the superiors.

323. One should not go alone to attack snakes, tigers and thieves.

324. One should slay the assassin, even though he is a preceptor, who tries to kill him.

325. One should not aid in a conflict but should protect the leader.

326-327. One should not sit on important seats before preceptors and the king; nor being arrogant, distort their sayings, through (false) reasoning.

328-329. The inferior man does not know what ought to be done, but knows what has been done (and so blindly follows the precedence). The superior does not divulge what he is going to do or what he has done.

330-331. One should not totally accept without verification wife's statements about the offences of mother, son's wife, brother's wife and co-wife.

332-333. The eight natural defects of women are mendacity, rashness, attachment, foolishness, greed, impurity, cruelty and vanity.

334-335. One should not chastise by harsh words the son after the sixteenth year, the girl after the twelfth year, nor should punish the daughter-in-law.

336-337. Daughter's sons, sister's sons and brothers are more important than sons. Brother's wives, sons' wives and sisters are to be maintained as being more weighty than daughters.

338-339. For the maintenance of relatives the master always tries to earn and keep (wealth). Others (who do not do so) are as it were thieves.

340-341. About association with females.

342-345. One should give away his daughter in marriage to, and be friends with, somebody after examining his wealth, birth, character, form, learning, strength and age; he may give his daughter even to a penniless man who possesses (proper) qualifications of age, learning and beauty, and should not judge (bridegroom) by his beauty, age and wealth and who asks for a wife.

346-347. One should first examine the family, then learning, then age, then character, then wealth, then form and lastly the country of birth; marriage is to be entered into afterwards.

348-349. The daughter wants beauty, mother wealth, father learning, friends high birth, outsiders food and festivities.

350-351. One should have for his wife the girl who is born in the race of a *Ṛiṣhi* who is not the same as his, who has a brother, whose family is good and who has no defects of birth.

352-353. One should pursue learning by moments and wealth by grains. The moments and the grains are not to be left out by the man who wants learning and wealth.

354-355. Daily acquisition of wealth is good for wife, children, and friends, and also for charity. But without these what is the good of having men and money?

356-359. One should carefully preserve wealth that can maintain life in future. 'I shall live for one hundred years and enjoy life with wealth'—one should ever earn learning and wealth in this hope for twenty-five years or half or a quarter of that period.

360-361. The wealth of learning is superior. It grows with gifts, is not burdensome and cannot be carried.

362-363. So long as there is wealth one is respected by all. But the man without wealth though well qualified is deserted by wife and sons even.

364-367. In this world wealth is the means to all pursuits. So man should try to acquire that by good ways and means, *e.g.*, by good learning, good service, valour, agriculture, usury, store-keeping, arts or begging.

368. One should practise whatever means makes a man wealthy.

[1]369. Meritorious men stand at the door of the wealthy people even as menials.

370-371. Even defects are regarded as merits, and even merits become defects of the wealthy and the poor respectively, and the poor are insulted by all.

372-374. Through abject poverty some people got death, some went to the village, some to the hills, and some to utter ruin, some got mad, some came under subjection of enemies.

375. And owing to insufficiency of wealth some people become slaves of others.

376-377. One should keep the money together with the written account in such a manner that one's own wife, children and friends cannot know how much has been stored by and where.

378-379. For business men, there is no other memorandum besides written record. So the wise man should never transact business without documents.

380-381. Well earned wealth may be deposited with the non-covetous, the rich, the king, the trustworthy and the charitable by receiving written statements.

382-383. One should pay money to a friend without interest. Much wealth placed with the friend is not harmful.

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[1] The means of livelihood mentioned above are eight in number.—

(1) Learned professions—Art of teaching, etc. (2) Service. (3) Heroism (Soldier's art). (4) Agriculture. (5) Usury. (6) Commerce, shop-keeping. (7) Industries and arts. (8) Begging.

384-385. Having seen that the debtor is capable of transacting business even (on loans) with interest, one should lend him money in the presence of those who stand bail, and of witnesses having received pawns and written statements about the transaction.

[1]386. One should not lend out solely for the sake of interest lest capital should be lost.

388. One should give up shyness in the matter of eating and enjoyment.

389. Wealth makes friends when given but enemies when not given.

390-391. One should be liberal at heart but miserly in outward relations, and should spend properly at the right time.

392. One should maintain by all his wealth, his good wife, children, and friends as far as possible.

393. One's own self cannot, but all else can, come again. So (one should maintain by all his wealth) oneself also.

394 If one is alive one can see many good things.

395-397. The father desirous of the welfare of the family should divide his wealth when his sons are married and grown up. But grown up and married brothers also should divide among themselves. For otherwise even brothers by the same mother get into ruin and destruction.

398-399. A man should not live together with two wives in the same house, but should allot them separate apartments; for animals only so herd together, but not human beings.

400-401. The sons should not divide the wealth that is the cause of increase (in interest, *i e.*, working as loan-capital) being placed with debtors, nor the wealth that is to be paid back to the creditors.

402. You should not desire wealth of the man whose good friendship you want to have.

[2]403-404. (You should not also) engage secret spies about him, speak with his wife, look down upon him, or contradict him.

405. You should not also be indifferent to his activities or disregard the evils that befall him.

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[1] **Points to be noted with regard to a loan transaction :—**

(1) The business qualifications of debtors to be studied व्यवहारज्ञम.

(2) There must be pawns or securities बंध.

(3) There must be men who stand bail (प्रतिभू).

(4) There are to be witnesses.

(5) Receipts for value received as well as documents mentioning other conditions should be prepared गृहीतलिखितं.

[2] **प्रतीत—Cross, contradictory.**

406-407. One should give away the money as if it were being received without any pain whether the loan be with or without interest.

408. But not without witnesses and signatures on the *Ṛiṇapatra* (bandnote).

409-410. The best men are those who are noted for the qualities of themselves, of their fathers or their mothers. People are celebrated separately for their own qualifications, as well as for the virtues of fathers and mothers.

411. People may be good, middling, low and very low (who are famous) through the merits of their brothers.

412. The worst men are those who have to depend on the virtues of the daughter, wife, and sister.

413-414. After having amassed wealth one should maintain his family. The wise man should never pass a day without giving away something.

415-416. 'I am at death's door, my life would not linger a moment. Besides these two there are no other friends of mine in future life.' Thus considering, one should practise charity and virtue.

417-418. None else will be my friends in the next world but these two (charity and virtue); the world exists through charity and good conduct, and not through wickedness.

419. Friends come through charity.

420-421. The *sambiddatta* gift is that which is meant for future life, *e g.*, that given for gods, sacrifices, Brâhmaṇs and cows.

422. The *paritoṣya* or gift of pleasure is that which is given to the songsters, athletes, and dancers, &c.

423. That which is given for fame is known as *śriyâdatta*.

424-425. The *hridatta* or gift of courtesy is that which is given on marriage ceremonies, etc., by way of presents to friends, relatives and kinsfolk.

426-427. The *bhidatta* or gift of fear is that which is given to the king, the powerful or the obstructor of interests for the furtherance of one's own cause or out of fear from sins and vices.

428-429. The *pâpadatta* or gift of sin is that which is given to promote enmity or which is lost through gambling or which is meant for association with others' wives.

430-431. He should always glorify the lord whom he serves, he should never disparage him; he should be always alert in his service and try always to please him.

432-433. In this world there is nothing more capable of subduing others than charity and simplicity. The moon that has waned through gifts, when waxing, is beautiful though in the form of a curve.

434-435. One should act after considering love, enmity, etc., but should not undo anything after it is done.

436-437. One should not have these things in excess—harshness, deceitfulness, mildness, exaggeration, attachment to work, and zeal.

438. Excess is ruinous. So one should avoid it.

439-440. People get exasperated through harshness, cast abuse on miserliness, do not reckon anybody for his mildness, and insult a man for his over-statements.

441-442. Poverty comes through excessive charity, insult through excessive cupidity, and foolishness is begotten of excessive zeal.

443. Want of observance of rules leads to moral degeneration, repression is folly.

444-445. The wise man should never consider "I am superior to all, I am more learned than others. Such and such is certainly the religious injunction."

446-447. One should remember that there is the animal which devours the devourer of whales, *Râghava* (animal) is the devourer of that even, and there is the destroyer of *Râghava*.

448-449. One should not desire equality with gods, cows and Brâhmaṇas. This is very harmful and destructive to the whole family.

450-451. One should always worship, respect and serve these. It is not known how much of the spirit divine is implanted in each.

[1]452. One should not make young wife, wealth and books dependent on others.

453. If made dependent, these things are got back by accident but damaged, spoilt and injured.

454-455. The wise man should never spend much wealth for small things, nor accomplish insignificant ends by spending much wealth through pride.

456. And should not abandon good actions for fear of great expenditure.

457. One should not bear malice to or be angry with messengers because of their bad manners.

458-459. The intelligent man should not even out of fear say anything by which friends are abashed, separated or get apathetic

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[1] The mention of पुस्तक or books in this connexion is highly interesting as indicating the custom of lending out books from one's library.

460-461. The wise man should never talk to persons with whom words, good or bad, are equally fruitless, as musicians do not sing to the deaf.

462-463. The man who does not interfere with a friend who is bent upon vices by entreating him to the best of his ability is known by the learned to be a *nriśamsa* or cruel being.

464-465. That man is not known to be a friend who does not take care to mediate in the conflicts between relatives.

466-468. Through harsh words even friends who have been maintained since birth and who have been served with gifts and honours become enemies instantly as it is impossible to extricate from the mind the sting of crooked words.

469-470. One should carry the enemy on one's shoulders so long as he is more powerful than oneself; but after knowing that his strength has been impaired, should break him down as a vessel against a stone.

471-472. The ornament, the kingdom, strength, learning or wealth does not adorn a man so much as courtesy and gentleness.

473-479. Speed in horses, splendour in jewels, mercy in kings, gestures in prostitutes, sweet voice in singers, charity in rich men, prowess in soldiers, plentiness of milk in cows, restraint in ascetics, eloquence in learned men, impartiality in councillors, truthfulness in witnesses, devotion in servants, good counsels in ministers, silence in fools, faithfulness in wives, are the proper ornaments.

480. The opposites of these are improper attributes of the subjects (mentioned above).

[1]481-482. That house shines (prospers) which has one and not many heads, and which has many members, lamps, cows and young ones.

483. One should not be indifferent to the cruel amimals but kill them at once.

484-486. Meanness, roughness, thieving, malice, covetousness, untruthfuiness, obstruction of work, as well as idleness are offences even for meritorious persons and grow by eclipsing their virtues.

487-488. The destruction of wealth is very sinful if the mother be young, wife be middle-aged, and the son be old.

489-490. Childlessness of wealthy people, foolishness of poor people, bad husbands of women, and loss of interest are not for happiness.

491-492. The following six again are not for happiness—foolish son, bad daughter and wife, poverty, service of the lower orders, as well as perpetual debt.

[1] The components of an ideal household are mentioned here. Cows are indispensable.

493-496. The man who does not find pleasure in teaching, learning, gods, preceptors, Brâhmaṇs, arts, music, service, simplicity, wife, valour, penances, and literature is either a man who has attained salvation, or a cheat or a beast in the form of a man.

497-498. The cheat is he who cannot tolerate another's prosperity, who picks holes in other's pockets, who is a calumniator, and quarrelsome, and whose mind is mean but face is bright.

499-501. That little knowledge resulting from the study of the treasure of the Vedas which is not enough even for one person becomes overflowing when it is rightly directed and increased through hope [of doing good to others]. But that very learning becomes mischievous when employed for selfish ends and merely to find fault with others.

502-503. The cheats become honest when giving advice to others. But they commit a hundred misdeeds for their own sake.

504-506. That son gives happiness who obeys father's command, and is active in his service, always follows him as a shade and tries to earn, and who is versed in all the branches of learning.

507. The son who has the contrary qualities gives pain and is the destroyer of wealth.

508-511. That mother gives satisfaction who is always devoted to her husband, skilled in domestic duties, bears children, well disciplined, husband's darling, young in age, pardons the offences of children and nurses them. Any other woman is *kulaṭâ* and is the cause of pain.

512-513. That father is good who cares always for the child's learning and income, and ever disciplines the lad well.

514-515. That man becomes one's friend who is always of help to him, never speaks anything against him, and tells the true and good things.

516-517. Intimacy with inferior men, frequent visits to other's houses, antagonism with the race and the community, and poverty—all these lead to loss of reputation.

518-519. Association with tiger, fire, snake and other ferocious animals is not good. Even when served, the king and these things can never be friends to anybody.

520-523. Antipathy of friends, predominance of enemies, poverty of the learned men, the possession of many children to poor people, permanent residence in places devoid of rich and qualified persons as well as physician, king and water, only one daughter to a father, and begging—all these are for misery.

524-526. About the relation between husband and wife.

527. Just as the child becomes docile through feeding and caressing so also the wife.

528-529. The wise man proceeds with the work after carefully weighing its nature, instruments, expenditure, and does not commence even insignificant work otherwise.

530. The wise man should not like to do a thing that exceeds the expenditure (fixed).

531. The man of business should undertake that work which yields great profit.

532. The value and measurement of commodities are always desired in exactness.

533-534. A proxy is not desirable in the matter of penances, women, agriculture, service, enjoyment and eating, but should be appointed for other functions.

535-537. The wicked and the thief always want solitude and good food, those who have powerful enemies want help, the prostitute desires friendship with the rich, the bad king desires craft, and the bad servant desires the master's goods, the learned man wants knowledge (truth), the priest wants pride, fire and sacrifice.

538-540. The beautiful woman wants a beautiful man, the prostitute wants a paramour, the diseased a physician, the store-keeper high prices, the beggar the charitable.

541. The terrified seeks a protector, the wicked man an opportunity.

542-543. The foolish man behaves roughly, is quarrelsome, sleeps always, takes intoxicants, does useless things and ruins his own interests.

544-545. The *Kṣatriya* is one in whom the *tâmas* quality preponderates, the Brâhmaṇa is one in whom the *sattwa* preponderates. The other (Vaiśya) is one in whom the *rajas* preponderates. Among all these the best is that in whom the *sattwa* preponderates.

546-547. The Brâhmaṇa dominates all through his own deeds. Among the *Kṣatriyas* and others the particles of his attributes exist.

548-549. Seeing the Brâhmaṇa who practises his own duty others including Kṣatriyas get terrified. So one should practise his own duty.

550. That activity is good which does not lead to failure in one's own duty.

551. That country is good where the kith and kin are supported

552-554. Agriculture which is said to have rivers for mothers, is a good occupation. The occupation of *Vaiśyas* is intermediate, that of Śûdras is inferior. Begging is lower than that but excellent in ascetics.

555. At times service is a good occupation as that to a king who is virtuous.

556-557. The income that is derived from salary for priestly functions leads to great wealth. Commerce is useless.

558. Wealth cannot accumulate without service to the State.

[1]559-60. But service to kings is very intricate, cannot be well performed by anybody except the intelligent. It is like the *asidhârâ* ceremony.

561-562. The minister masters the king by the force of *mantra* (charm or counsels), just as the snake-charmer subdues the snake. But intelligent men fear the king very much.

563. The spirit of Brâhmaṇa exists in learned men, that of Kṣatriyas in the king.

564-565. The wise man is always near though he lives at a distance. He binds the men by the ropes of intelligence and attracts and represses them.

566. He is resourceful even in matters beyond one's perception and hence though living near may be influencing distant (activities).

567. Intelligence should not be overpowered by the *anuvâkas* but should be useful in practice.

[2]568. The intelligence that is overpowered by these cannot move.

569-570. It is better to be poor first and rich afterwards just as it is better to be a pedestrian first and go in a vehicle aftewards.

571. The above order leads to happiness. The opposite order to sorrow.

572- 573. It is always better to have no son than to have sons that are dead. Pedestrianism is better then using bad vehicles. Indifferentism is better than conflicts.

574-575. It is better to cover feet with shoes than try to cover the whole earth with leather. Ignorance is better than vanity due to little learning.

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[1] असिधारा—A religious ceremony in which a sword is placed between husband and wife. It is thus very difficult and dangerous. So also Government service.

The above lines contain Śukrâchâryya's gradation of occupations and means of livelihood according to income, dignity, etc.

[2] अनुवाक—Section of the Vedas. Students of the Vedas become practical fools incompetent to deal with व्यवहारं, *i. e.*, ordinary transactions of life. Their intelligence is also immobile or inelastic सर्वत्रगामिनी., *i. e.*, they cannot be made to apply their intelligence to the accomplishment of various purposes, *e.g.*, those beyond the study-room, &c,

576-577. Life in a forest is better than that in other's houses. Begging and death are better than being a householder with a bad wife.

578-579. Debt, pregnancy, sovereignty, friendship with the wicked, bad diet—these are pleasant at the beginning but lead to misery in the end.

580-581. The king always suffers through bad advisers, the patient through bad physicians, the subjects through bad kings, the family through bad children, and the soul through bad motives.

582-583. The elephant, the horse, the ox, the child, the wife, and the parrot get the qualities of their teachers through association.

584-585. Success comes from timely speeches; celebrity from good dress, and honour in assemblies from learning. These three come through possession of ability.

586-588. Good wife, good son, good learning, much wealth, friend, faithful servants and maid-servants, good physique, decent dress, and good king—these ten lead always to human happiness.

589-590. Old, well-trained, and trustworthy women who observe the rites and ceremonies, or men of impotent sex should be appointed within the inner appartments—no young man even if he be a friend.

591. One should do his work by regulating the time not otherwise.

592-593. One should apply the ideas of self to cows, &c., and self to wealth and virtue, appoint the mother to cooking of food and the preceptor to the work of teaching.

594. One should always go into the interior without any regulation.

[1]595-597. In foreign lands the following six are useful to men—wife without child, good conveyance, the bearer, the guard, the knowledge that can be of use in relieving other's miseries, and an active servant.

598-599. One should not obstruct a road though he is capable And even the king should not go into a market place in a conveyance though that is good enough.

600-602. One should always travel with companions not otherwise; and take rest, while travelling, in places which have good roads and tanks hard by—but should not stop on roads or in forests.

603-604. Excessive walking, fasts, over-indulgence and over-exercise soon bring about men's old age.

[1] The practice of undertaking distant tours is suggested here.

[1]605. Excessive pursuit of all branches of learning even the fine arts also leads to old age.

606-607. The man who talks of one's demerits as if they were merits becomes dear to him. Is not the man who cries up one's merits his friend?

608-609. The dear friend who speaks of demerits exactly becomes unfriendly. Can that man be friendly who talks of one's merits as if they were demerits?

610-611. Even gods are overpowered by praise, what about men? Hence nobody dare describe one's defects in one's presence?

612. So one should consider one's defects according to *Śástras* and popular opinion.

613-614. The man who is pleased and not angry with hearing of his own defects, and who exerts to discover his own weak points and abandons them when told by others.

615. Who after hearing of his own merits remains the same and does not display vanity.

616-617. Who considers "I am the mine of all defects—why attribute merits to me? Ignorance also is in me," is superior to all.

618. He is *sádhu*. The gods do not attain a portion of his sixteenth part.

619-620. To the good man even a very insignificant benefit appears very high, while the wicked man considers a service even less in amount than a mustard to be huge.

621. The good man considers the man who forgives to be powerful, while the wicked man considers otherwise.

622. So one should pardon the evil words of the good man as well as the wicked man.

623-624. One should not play with others in such a way as to lead to quarrel. And even for fun one should not abuse another man by saying 'your wife is a prostitute.'

625. Slang should not be used to anybody even in a friendly way.

626-627. One should not hide anything from a friend nor divulge his secrets. Even after becoming his enemy (one should not divulge) secrets spoken before.

628-629. One should not point out any wickedness even if known, rather one should try to remedy and offer remedies secretly.

[1] अत्यभ्यास—The proper reading should be अत्यायास or over-exercise,

630-631. One should say truly of a thing that is powerful but injurious; but should regard as unseen what has been seen, and as unheard what has been heard.

632-633. In times of danger one should appear dumb, blind, dwarf and lame. Otherwise one suffers misery and loss in business.

634. One should speak words favourable to the old men but not child-like.

635. Going to others' houses one should not look to their wives.

636. One should not receive possession from the poor and of sovereignty.

637. One should educate one's own child as well as others' children but not the offenders.

638-639. One should forsake those places where people are addicted to vicious habits, immoral, fickle, tyrannical and severe.

640-641. Unless requested one should not express, even when known correctly, the cases of the two parties to a suit. Thus one can be free from enemies.

642. One should not take up somebody else's case and pick up quarrel with others.

[1]643. One should not discuss royal policies in an assembly.

644-645. One should not say anything about astronomical injunctions, morality, punishments, medicines, purgatives and effects of actions without special knowledge.

646. Great misery comes of dependence on others. There is no greater happiness than that from self-rule.

647. The man who is not in a strange land, who is a householder and who is independent always enjoys happiness.

648-649. Owing to the intelligence of new and old masters of sociology new rites and rules are springing up every moment.

650. So it is impossible to describe them by direct observation or by inference.

651. This knowledge can be acquired only by analogy and the commands of authority.

652-653. The *Nīti Śāstra* that is common to the king and the commonwealth (people) has been narrated in brief. This remembered by the king is useful to him.

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[1] The idea of an unlawful assembly is slightly suggested here.

CHAPTER IV.

Section I.—CHARACTERISTICS OF FRIENDS.

[1] 1-2. Now I shall say briefly the chapter of miscellaneous topics. Now you will have to hear briefly of the characteristics of friends, etc.

3-4. The friend and the enemy are of four kinds,—one who does, makes others do, approves of, and helps in, things that are respectively beneficial and harmful.

5-8. That man is a first class friend whose heart melts always at the grief of others, who tries to do good to others, who serves others without the asking and is the protector, at the proper time, of wife, wealth and secrets. Others are three-fourths, halves and quarters.

9-10. The mark of enemies is that there is a conflict between two persons about exclusive ownership over the same matter and that they are destroyers of each other's interests.

11-13. They two are enemies who separately consider "In the absence of brothers all the paternal wealth will be mine. All this will not come to his possession but mine, and I shall enjoy all this exclusively."

14. The man who envies and the man who is envied, both are enemies and can be defined by the same term.

15-17. All kings are unfriendly, secret enemies and seekers of opportunities to men who are valorous, rising, virtuous and powerful. What wonder here? Are they not all covetous of kingdoms?

18. Kings can have no friends, and can be friends to nobody.

19. They become sometimes artificial friends

20. Some are always friends or enemies by nature.

21-24. Mother, mother's family, father, father's parents, father's daughter, uncle, uncle's daughter, one's own daughter, wife, wife's family, father's sister, mother's sister, one's own sister, daughter's offsprings, king and preceptor—are friends by nature.

25-26. Learning, valour, skill, prowess, and patience—these five are said to be natural friends; wise men follow these.

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[1] This section deals mainly with two things: (1) International Relations and Policies (2) Punishments. And each is treated not solely from the political and administrative standpoints but also with reference to their social bearings. Here also as before, Śukranīti is a treatise on morals (social, economic and political).

The section is eminently interesting as it introduces the reader to the essentially political affairs and theories of the ancient Hindus.

27-28. The son who abides by the father's commands is son properly called. Even one is good if qualified—what with a hundred sons who are unqualified ?

29-31. The following are wicked and cruel by nature—the father who contracts debts, the mother and wife who are addicted to other persons, one's own brothers and father's brothers, and their wives and children are enemies.

32-34. The son's wife, the mother-in-law, the co-wife, the husband's sisters, the brother's wives, the foolish son, the bad physician, the husband who does not protect, the master who is severe, the rich man who is not benevolent (are also enemies).

35-36. The king is the enemy of the wicked, the faithful wife of the faithless, the good man of the cheat, the wise man of the foolish.

37-38. Instructions to the foolish people are the causes of their anger not pleasure. Just as the drinking of water by snakes is for the making of poison not of nectar.

39-40. The enemies of gradually diminishing strength are first, the kings who live around or very near, then those who live further away and so on.

[1]41. They naturally become inimical, indifferent and friendly.

42-43. Or kings are said to be situated in the following order : First enemies then the friends, then the neutrals, and enemies on all sides.

44. Servants and ministers who are very proximate to oneself have to be checked.

45. One should encourage or control friends according as they are less or more powerful.

46-47. The enemies are to be separated, restrained and repressed. They are to be destroyed by the policies of alliance, partition, etc.

48-49. One should bring friends and foes to submission by appropriate methods just as snakes, elephants and lions are tamed.

50. By appropriate means the terrestrial beings can soar into the sky and even the thunder can be pierced.

[2]51-52. Peace, Purchase, Partition and Penalty—these policies

[1] The nearest neighbours are the greatest enemies. Those gradually receding from one's territory are less and less powerful enemies.

[2] साम—Alliance or peace with friends as well as others according to circumstances.

दान—Purchase, charity, gifts, etc., for kith and kin as well as others according to circumstances.

भेद—Separation or partition for subjects as well as others according to circumstances.

दण्ड—Punishment for enemies as well as others according to circumstances.

are to be applied separately to (each of the following classes of relations): the friend, relatives, family, subjects and enemies according to one's own reasons.

53-54. One can be friend with such men as are of the same age, character, learning, caste, vices and occupations.

55. 'No one is such a friend as yourself'—this remark to a friend is called *Sâma.*

56. 'All my goods are yours, even life'—This is *dâna* or gift to a friend.

57. The narration of one's own merits or those of other friends to somebody is *bheda* or partition as applied to a friend.

58. 'If you do such and such things, I shall not be friend to you.' This is punishment as applied to a friend.

59-60. The man who does not do any good and who disregards other's injuries is *udâsîna* or indifferent.

[1]61-62. 'We should not mutually injure each other, but should rather help each other (in need).' This relation is said to be alliance with enemies.

63-64. That policy is said to be *dâna* or gifts to enemies according to their strength and status by which one pacifies powerful foes by tributes or annual incomes from definite tracts of lands.

65-66. The separation of enemies is that which is due to making their friends powerless.

67-69. A punishment applied to enemies is said to be the attack upon them, their wealth and grains by robbers, the aggression upon them with powerful force after noticing their weak points, and not ceasing from war when war has commenced.

[2]70. These methods and policies have to be duly varied according to the varieties of ends to be furthered.

71-72. The statesman-like king should adopt all these policies in such a way that the friends, neutrals or the foes can never go beyond himself.

73-74. *Sâma* is to be first adopted. Then the policy of Purchase. The enemies have always to be played off against one another, and the policy of punishment is to be adopted in times of danger to existence.

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[1] So the policy of साम is prescribed towards enemies also. It is something like an offensive and defensive alliance of modern states.

[2] The mere enumeration of these policies and the statement of the objects for which each is to be applied are sufficient to prove the high political sense of the Hindus. The society which could evolve the state-craft that Śukrâchâryya represents is certainly not that of a race bent solely on other-worldly activities.

75-76. Alliance and contributions to be applied to powerful enemies. Alliance and separation to those who are superior (in strength). Separation and punishment are to be adopted towards those who are equal. Punishment is desirable when the enemy is powerless.

77. Alliance and gifts are to be adopted towards friends—never the policies of playing off one against another or punishment.

[1]78-79 The separation and punishment of the subjects of enemies lead to one's success, as well as the collection, by the policies of alliance and gifts, of subjects who are oppressed by the enemies.

[2]80. The banishment of the well-qualified as well as the wicked is always desirable.

81-82. One should never rule his own subjects by the policies of separation or punishment but by those of peace and gifts.

83. The State is likely to be ruined through punishment and partition of one's own subjects.

84. Subjects are to be so governed that they can be neither too powerless nor too powerful.

85-86. Punishment is that which leads to the giving up of bad practices, and is restraint by penalties by which animals are kept within check.

87 That policy is to be administered by the king as he is the lord of all.

88-91. The various species of methods of punishment are the policies of censure, insult, starvation, imprisonment, oppression, destruction of goods, expulsion from the city, marking on the body, shaving of half portions of the body, carrying the person over ignoble animals (*e.g.*, asses), mutilation, execution, as well as warfare.

92-93. Through fear of punishment the subjects become virtuous, do not commit aggressions and do not speak untruths;

[3]94-98. even the cruel become mild, the wicked give up wickedness, even beasts become subdued, the thieves get frightened, the garrulous

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[1] Two-fold policy to be adopted as regards the subjects of enemies. They should be parted off if they are supporters of the existing government or won over if they feel its oppression.

[2] Does it indicate anything of *ostracism* which was intended to expel from the State anybody who won notoriety or fame? Extraordinary ability in any form is likely to cause discontent among the subjects and hence lead to revolutions in States.

[3] The Subject of Punishment has been treated in *Śukraniti* in connexion with the theory of International Policies, but it has grown upon the author; and he deals with it as an aspect of internal administration. The whole picture is thus complete in itself and displays Śukrâchâryya's thorough knowledge of the springs of human conduct.

become dumb, the enemies are terrified and become tributaries, and others are demoralised. So the king should always administer punishments for the furtherance of morality and religion.

99-100. Punishment is good even for preceptors who are proud, do not know their duties and go astray.

101-102. All the methods and means bear fruit through the king's policy of punishment. That is the great stay of virtues.

[1]103. According to the dictates of Śruti the execution of bad men is real *ahiṃsâ*, *i.e.*, mercy.

104-105. One is deserted by good people and acquires sins by always not punishing those who ought to be punished, and punishing those who ought not, and by being a severe punisher.

[2]106-107. It has been said in the *Śâstras* by sages that great virtue arises out of small charity because that is an encouragement to charity and the result of punishments is fear.

108-109. Can virtue that is begotten of horse sacrifices come out of mere recital of hymns? So also can the virtue arising from mercy come out of punishments?

110-111. How can good accrue to a king through punishment of his own subjects? That leads to the destruction of his fame, wealth and virtue.

[3]112-115. There was no punishment in the *Satya Yuga* or the Golden Age because the king then possessed virtue in its entirety. There was full punishment in the *Tretâ Yuga* as the subjects had vice to quarter of its amount. In *Dwâpara Yuga* punishment to the extent of three quarters of its amount was necessary as virtue existed only to half its extent. In *Kali Yuga* punishment to half its extent is desirable as the subjects are poor and miserable through the king's wickedness.

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[1] It thus appears that according to the political morality of the age of *Śukranîti* there is no horror of bloodshed. Śukrâchâryya while advocating punishments and warfares cannot naturally shrink at the sight of blood. So he justifies capital punishments by reference to the Vedas.

[2] त्त्यर्थं—In order to incite others to meritorious or virtuous deeds. If small charity leads to infinite bliss men may easily be tempted or taught to be charitable.

भयाय—In order to create fear. If the creation of fear is the object of punishment small doses of it are efficacious. Just as if the object be to induce men to be charitable it should be laid down in the Śâstras that small charity is efficacious.

[3] युग—Ages. Various amounts of punishment prescribed for the various ages of human history because of the varieties in virtues and vices of the people in different times.

[1]116-117. The king is the maker of the age as the promulgator of duties and sins. The faults are to be ascribed neither to the age nor to the subjects but to the king.

118-119. Men practise that by which the king is satisfied—why should they not follow his teachings through greed or fear?

[2]120-121. Where the king is virtuous people are also virtuous, where the king is a sinner subjects are also vicious.

122-123. Where the clouds do not pour rain in season there the lands are not productive, the commonwealth deteriorates, enemies are increased and wealth is destroyed.

124-125. Even the king who is a drunkard is good but not he who is very angry and addicted to women. For the severe man irritates the subjects and the other destroys the castes.

126. The man who drinks wine is deprived of his intelligence and loses his business.

127-129. Passion and anger are of the nature of liquor and greater intoxicants than wine. The king through excessive greed destroys the wealth and life of subjects, so the king should administer the State by giving up these three.

130-131. The king should punish his own subjects by being mild internally but cruel externally, and should be severe in punishment towards those who are by nature evil-doers.

[3]132-133. The State is naturally ruined by informers who whisper into the king's ears; so the king, even when informed by these, should carefully study affairs.

134-135. The wise king notices his own faults as well as those of the subjects—and employs himself first, and then the servants.

136-137. Offences are of four kinds—that through the body, that through speech, that through the mind, and that through association. Each again is two-fold, committed voluntarily or involuntarily.

138. Each again is two-fold—known and approved.

139. Each again is four-fold: temporary, constant, habitual, and natural.

140-143. One should know the mental offences by studying the eyes, mouth, expressions and feelings, etc., the physical by the actions

[1] This is the exact opposite of the dictum 'The king can do no wrong.'

[2] The Commonwealth follows the king in all respects. Hence his great responsibility.

[3] This is a very important warning to the holders of personal governments, *e.g.*, dukes, feudal lords, Zemindars, absolute monarchs, &c.

and the vocal by harsh words, and those arising from intercourse by studying the companionships; study the magnitude and levity of each, and mete out punishments for the works that have been or are being committed.

[1]144-146. The good man committing first offence deserves the following punishment. One should ask of him: 'Is this *your* evil action? Is it proper for you?' He deserves this sort of reproach twice or thrice.

147-149. The good man committing second offence (of the second character) deserves the punishment for the first; and this intensified according to gradual increase in magnitude.

[2]150-152. The good man committing serious offence (of a vile character) deserves the punishment foi the first and second as described above and then should be bound.

153. This punishment is to be dealt out if there has been no intentional murder.

[3]154. Three classes of punishments are here described—good, middling, and low.

155-158. The second class man who is remarkable for good qualities, family and riches when committing first class offence deserves the punishment of censure, half punishment or full punishment in succession, and that twice or thrice, and at last imprisonment and menial work.

159-161. The second class man committing second class offence deserves the punishment twice that described in the case of the first offence, oppression, imprisonment and last of all, expulsion from the State and marking on the body.

[4]162-164. The second class man committing third class offence (vile) deserves the punishment described for the second offence, then twice or thrice that, and last of all, imprisonment for life.

165-166. The worst class man committing first offence deserves

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[1] साहस—Offence. If the man is good and if this be his first offence, he deserves only a censure or moral reprobation.

[2] The उत्तम or good man deserves the three kinds of punishment described above for commission of three kinds of offences, *viz.*, प्रथम (First), मध्यम (Second), अधम (vile).

[3] The उत्तम धिग्दण्ड punishment for the प्रथम offence of उत्तम or good man.

मध्यम   मध्यम

नीच   उत्तम

Thus the good man may also get the lowest punishment. The good punishment of the good man for the first offence is धिग्दण्ड, *i. e.*, punishment of censure only.

[4] The मध्यम (second class) man deserves three kinds of punishment for commission of hree kinds of offences just as the उत्तम man does.

the punishment half of what has been described or twice or thrice and then imprisonment.

167-169. The worst class committing second offence deserves twice the punishment for the first, then imprisonment for repairing roads.

[1] 170-172. The worst class committing worst offence deserves twice the punishment for the second, imprisonment for life, only the menial works.

173-174. The king should take away a quarter of the wealth of the man who is proud of his wealth, then one-half, then full and lastly imprisonment for life.

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[1] The अधम (worst class) man also deserves three kinds of punishments for three kinds of offences.

Thus offences are of three kinds—प्रथम मध्यम उत्तम. Men are of three kinds—उत्तम, मध्यम, अधम Punishments are of three kinds in each case according to three offences of each. So there are altogether nine kinds of punishments. The following table will illustrate the grades of persons and punishments and offences :—

Grade of offender.	Class of offence.	Grade of Punishment.
1. उत्तम	1. प्रथम	1. उत्तम, *e. g.*, धिग्दण्ड, *i.e.*, moral censure
2. उत्तम	2. मध्यम	2. मध्यम repetition of धिग्दण्ड intensified.
3. उत्तम	3. उत्तम	3. नीच, *e.g.*, (i) repetition of the first and second, also (ii) बन्धन (imprisonment).
4. मध्यम	1. प्रथम	1. (i) धिग्दण्ड (censure). (ii) अर्द्धदण्ड * (half punishment). (iii) पूर्णदण्ड * (Full punishment . (iv) Twice or thrice each. (v) Imprisonment. (vi) Rigors of a lower order.
5. मध्यम	2. मध्यम	2. (i) Twice the first. (ii) ताड़न (Repression). (iii) बन्धन (Imprisonment). (iv) Expulsion and (v) लक्षण (marking on the body).
6. मध्यम	3. उत्तम	3. (i) The second as described above. (ii) Twice or thrice that. (iii) Imprisonment for life.
7. अधम	1. प्रथम	1. (i) अर्द्धदण्ड. (ii) Twice or thrice अर्द्धदण्ड (iii) Imprisonment.
8. अधम	2. मध्यम	2. (i) The first. (ii) Twice that. (iii) Imprisonment (iv) Repair of roads.
9. अधम	3. अधम	3. (i) The second described above. (ii) Twice that. (iii) Imprisonment for life. (iv) Rigors of a lower order.

* अर्द्धदण्ड and पूर्णदण्ड have not been explained. These seem to be technical terms.

175-177. The king should bind and restrain the man who commits sins out of vanity for his men, learning and strength.

178-179. The wife, the son, the sister, the pupil, the servant and the brother committing sins are to be punished by slender cords on the back of the body but never on the forepart.

180. Beating otherwise one deserves punishment as a thief.

181-183. One who commits sins should be imprisoned and made to perform ignoble works for a month, three months, six months, one year or for whole life, but should not be killed.

184. One should not kill living beings—this is the truth of *Śruti*.

185-186. So the king should carefully avoid capital punishment but restrain by detention, imprisonment, and repression.

187-188. The king should not through greed inflict on his subjects a monetary punishment. Parents without help are not to be punished though offenders.

189-190. The punishments of the merciful king are of this type. But when the severe punisher who takes away wealth never forgives offences, the people get exasperated and are alienated by others.

191. So the king should be merciful and inflict punishment with care.

192-194. The drunkard, the gambler, the thief, the paramour, the envious, the man who has abandoned the customs and practices of the social system (castes and stages), the atheist, the cheat,

195-196. the man who curses uselessly, the informer who whispers into one's ears, the abuser of the Âryas and gods, the speaker of untruths, the man who destroys security or pawn, the destroyer of occupations,

197-198. the man who cannot bear the rise or prosperity of others, the man who takes bribes, the man who does things prejudicial to the *mantras*, the man who frustrates activities,

199-200. the man who says unpleasant things, and utters cruel and harsh words, the man who obstructs waters and parks, the pseudo-astrologer, the king's enemy, the bad minister, the man who knows tricks and stratagems,

201-202. the bad physician, the man whose habits are impure and harmful, the man who obstructs public roads, the bad witness, the man of immodest dress, the enemy of the master, and the extravagant,

203-204. the man who sets fire on houses, the poisoner, one who is addicted to prostitutes, the severe punisher, the biassed councillor, the man who receives written statements by force,

205-206. the man who commits wrongs, the quarrelsome, the man who flies from the battle, one who tampers with witnesses, the abuser of parents, chaste women and friends,

207-208. the malicious man, the helper of enemies, one who gives pain, the cheat, one who hates his own (people), one whose activities are secret, the heterodox, one who is the thorn of the village,

[1]209-210. the man who pursues penances and learning without maintaining relatives, one who lives on alms though capable of collecting wood and grasses,

211-212. the seller of daughters, one who diminishes the resources of kith and kin, one who does not publish sinful actions, and one who is indifferent to the losses of the king,

213-214. the prostitute, the murderer of husband and children, the woman who is a lover of separation, the woman who is disrespected by the old people, the woman who deserts domestic duties, the woman who is ever committing misdeeds, and the son's wife who is not his beloved ;

[2]215-216. knowing these persons who are wicked by nature the king should expel them from the commonwealth. They should be bound and transported to islands or forts, and employed in the work of repairing roads and made to live on insufficient and bad diet.

217-218. Or the king might make each prisoner work according to the qualifications of his caste.

219-220. The king should punish such bad men and also those who have been vitiated by bad company and teach them good ways of life.

221-222. The king should immediately extirpate those who desire evil of the commonwealth, the king, and the ministers by association with enemies.

223-224. The king should not destroy a gang or community all at once if there be a whole group of offenders, but should extirpate them one by one, just as the calf sucks the teats of the mother-cow individually.

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[1] Able-bodied persons who can earn their living by service or at any rate occupations of the lower economic order, *e. g.*, selling wood and grasses collected from forests—but yet choose to live on alms—'Sturdy beggars' as they are called.

[2] The enumeration of the offenders in the above lines gives a vivid picture of the darker side of human society which exists in every age and every clime. *Śukraniti* like all other Hindu *Niti Śāstras*, *Purāṇas* and *Tantras* is full of such vivid pictures of Hindu social life. मार्गसंस्कारव The work of repairing roads seems to have been a common method of employing offenders and criminals. *Śukraniti* makes frequent mention of it. द्वीप Islands used as convict settlements.

[1]225-226. When the king is addicted to immoral ways people should terrify him by taking the help of virtuous and powerful enemies.

227-228. So long as the man is virtuous, only so long is the king. Otherwise both the king and the people are ruined.

229-230. The king should bind down those men in chains and appoint them in the work of repairing roads who wander about by forsaking parents and wives.

231. And the king should pay them (daily) half their wages.

232. The punishment for worst offence is one thousand *paṇas.*

233. A *paṇa* is a piece of copper coined by the king weighing ten *mâshâs.*

234. A *Kârshâpaṇa* is the value of one hundred and fifty *varâtis* (*cowries*).

235. The *madhyama* or second punishment is half of one thousand *paṇâs*, and the *prathama* or first punishment is half of that, *i.e.*, 250 *paṇas.*

236-237. For the first offence first punishment is to be inflicted by the king and for the two others two other punishments, *e.g.*, *madhyama* punishment for the *madhyama* offence and *uttama* punishment for the *uttama.*

238. In this miscellaneous chapter have been described the friends, neutrals and enemies with all their auxiliaries.

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[1] It is in this way that neighbours influence and greatly modify the internal policies and conditions of states. The overthrow of rulers by subjects in alliance with the recognised enemies is too common a phenomenon to be overlooked by such a shrewd observer as Śukrâchârya.

SECTION II.

TREASURE.

1-2. Now in this miscellaneous chapter I shall speak of the second section, *viz.*, that on Treasure. A Collection of wealth by one person is called treasure.

3-4. The king should collect funds by hook or by crook and maintain thereby the commonwealth, the army as well as sacrifices.

5-6. The collection of treasure is for the maintenance of the army and the subjects and for the performance of sacrifices. This leads to king's happiness in this life and hereafter, otherwise to misery.

7-8. The collection that is made for wife and children as well as for self-enjoyments leads to hell and does not give happiness hereafter.

9. That which is earned wrongfully is the cause of sin.

10. That wealth increases which is taken from, or given to, good persons.

11. The good or deserving person is he who earns well and spends well. And the undeserving person is he who is the opposite.

12. The king who takes away all the wealth of the undeserving is not a sinner.

13-14. One should take away by craft or force or by robbery, wealth of the king who is addicted to immoral ways of life—and also from other kingdoms.

15-16. His kingdom is destroyed by enemies who has amassed wealth by forsaking morality and by oppressing his own people.

17-18. In normal times the king should not increase his treasure by augmenting the punishments, land revenues and duties, and by taking dues from holy places and properties consecrated to divine purposes.

[1]19-20. When the king is preparing to maintain an army to destroy the enemy, he should receive from the people special grants of fines, duties, &c.

[2]21-22. The king should receive the wealth of the rich men in times of danger by supplying them wherewith to live. But when he is free from danger he should return the amount to them together with interest.

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[1] **Enhanced collections are allowable only under exceptional circumstances.**

[2] **सुवृद्धि – Loans are prescribed from rich persons in difficult times. These, however, should be repaid as soon as the danger is over together with interest.**

23. Otherwise the subjects, state, treasure and the king—all are ruined.

24. Kings like *Suratha* were reduced through severity of punishments inflicted by them.

[1]25-27. The treasure should be so governed that it may maintain the subjects, and that the army may be maintained for twenty years without fines, land revenues and duties.

28-29. The treasure is the root of the army, and the army is the root of the treasure. It is by maintaining the army that the treasure and the kingdom prosper and the enemy is destroyed.

30. And by protecting the subjects, all these three results accrue as well as the acquisitions of heaven.

31-32. Goods are produced for sacrifice, sacrifices lead to happiness, heaven and long life. Absence of enemies, army and treasure—these three lead to prosperity of the state.

33-34. The state also prospers through the mercifulness of the king and his virtue and intelligence. So one should strive.

35-38. The best king is he who, by following the practice of the weaver of garlands, protects his subjects, makes the enemies tributaries and increases the treasure by their wealth. The middling king is he who does this by following the practice of the Vaiśya. And the worst by service and receipts from fines, holy places and lands consecrated to gods.

39-40. Subjects whose wealth is little should be maintained, and officers whose wealth is moderate. Also officers whose wealth is considerable.

41. But the rich men whose wealth is excessive, and those who are richer than the king but of low character are not to be maintained.

42-44. That wealth is said to be low which is sufficient for twelve years. That is said to be *madhyama* or middling which is enough for sixteen years. And good wealth is that which is sufficient for thirty years.

45. The king should deposit this wealth with the rich persons in order in times of danger.

46-48. Merchants trade with their capital, not with interest. They sell when prices are high and store by when prices are low.

49. Otherwise the discontent of his own subjects destroys the king with his whole family.

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[1] **Sinews of war for twenty years should be reserved. Deposits for military expenditure are state necessities.**

50-52. Grains should be collected sufficient to meet the wants of three years in proper seasons by the king for his own good as well as for that of the commonwealth. Or for more than three years in case of well-established families provided the grain be long lasting.

53-55. The king should store up those grains that are well developed, bright, best of the species, dry, new, or have good colour, smell and taste, the famous ones, durable and the dear ones—not others.

56-57. He should not preserve those that have been attacked by poisons, fire or snows or eaten by worms and insects, or those that have been hollowed out, but should use them for immediate consumptions.

58-59. And the king should carefully replace every year by new instalments the exact amounts of those consumed.

60-63. The accumulation of all these things that are useful and instrumental for the purposes of man, *e.g.*, medicinal plants, minerals, grasses, woods, implements, arms, weapons, gunpowder, vessels and cloths, etc., should also be made—This is likely to be efficacious.

64-65. The king should also carefully preserve the wealth that has been collected. There is great trouble in the earning, four-fold difficulty in the maintenance (of wealth).

66. That which is disregarded for a moment is soon destroyed.

67-68. It is the earner who gets pain when the accumulated wealth is destroyed. Even wife and children do not feel that, how could others?

69-70. If one is negligent in his own duties, will not others be so? But if one is mindful of his own business others become his assistants as well as equals.

71-72. There is no greater fool than the man who knows how to earn but not to maintain what has been earned. Vain is his exertion in earning.

73-76. The following men are also fools :—

The man who has two living wives, who trusts people overmuch, who hopes for great wealth, the idler, the man overpowered by women, and one who calls upon thieves, paramours and enemies as witnesses.

77-78. One should keep his wealth like a miser and give away at times, as it were, unconcerned; otherwise he displays his foolishness even in the matter of spending his own wealth.

79-80. One should always try to understand the real nature of goods. And the king should keep the jewels after having them tested by experts as well as by himself.

81-83. The nine *mahâratnas* or great jewels enumerated by the wise are *vajra* (diamond), *muktâ* (pearl), *pravâla* (coral), *gomeda* (agate),

indranîla (sapphire), *vaiduryya* (*Lapis lazuli*), *pushyarâga* (topaz), *pâchi* (emerald), *mâṇikya* (ruby).

84. *Mâṇikya* - is the Sun's favourite, of red colour and has the bright lustre of *indragopa* insect.

85. *Muktâ* is the Moon's favourite, of red, yellow, white and *shyama* (greenish blue) colour.

86. *Vidruma* (*pravâla*, coral) is the Mars' favourite and has a yellowish red colour.

87. *Pâchi* is the Mercury's favourite and has the lustre of the feathers of the peacock or the *châsha* bird.

88. *Pushyarâga* is the Jupiter's favourite, is yellow and has the lustre of gold.

89. *Vajra* is the poet's (Sukra or Venus) favourite, very transparent and has the lustre of the Star.

90. *Indranîla* is the Saturn's favourite, not white, and has the colour of black clouds.

91.* *Gomeda* is the Râhu's favourite and has yellowish red colour.

92. *Vaiduryya* is the Ketu's favourite, has the lustre of cat's eyes and has its particles moving.

93-95. *Vajra* is the best gem, lower are the *gomeda* and *vidruma*. *Gârutmata* (Marakata or *pâchi*), *mâṇikya*, and *muktâ* are good. *Indranîla*, *pushyarâga*, and *vaiduryya* are middling.

96. The gem on the head of the snake is the best of all, of great splendour but very rare.

97-98. These who are experts in the study of gems describe that gem as the best which has no pores, has good colour, is without scratches and spots, has good angles and bright lustre.

99. Gems may have the colour of *śarkarâ* (powdered bricks) or the leaves of trees, and may be flat or round in shape.

100. The colour and lustre of gems may be white, red, yellow and black.

101-103. The gem that has its appropriate colour and lustre and is devoid of any defects is beneficial to beauty, growth, fame, valour, and life. Others are known to be injurious. The lustre reveals the colour, while the shade depends on colour.

104. *Padmarâga* is a species of *mâṇikya* and has the lustre of red lotus.

105. The woman who wants a son should never wear a diamond.

106. The pearl and the coral fade through use in time.

107-108. The gem that is devoid of any defect has its value increased according to its weight, lustre, colour, extent, receptacle, and shape.

109-110. The gems cannot be cut by iron except by pearls and corals and stones (diamonds). This is said by those who are experts in gems.

111-112. The gem that is light in weight but large in size has great value. But that though having good qualities which is heavy in weight but small in size has small value.

113-114. That which has the lustre of *sarkarâ* (red powder of bricks) has the smallest value, that which is flat has middling value, that having the lustre of leaves has the greatest value. The round ones are valued according to demand.

115-116. The gems cannot deteriorate except pearls and corals. But their prices can rise or fall through the wickedness of kings.

117-118. Pearls grow in fishes, snakes, conches, hogs, bamboos, clouds and shells; of these the greatest amount is said to come from shells.

119-120. The following is the ascending order of excellence of pearls: those with black colour, white colour, yellow and red colour, those having two, four or seven coverings and those with three, five and seven coverings.

121. The pearls that are black, white, red and yellow are known to be old in succession.

122. The pearls derived from shells are known to be young, middling and excellent.

123. These alone can be pierced, not others.

[1]124. The people of the island of Ceylon can make artificial pearls like these.

125. To remove that doubt one should carefully examine the pearls.

126-128. That certainly is not artificial which does not lose colour by being rubbed with *brîhi* paddy after having been soaked in hot saline water during the night. If it remains very bright it is really derived from shells. If it has middling lustre it is otherwise.

129. The gems have their value measured by weight excepting the *gomeda* a gem brought from the Himâlaya and Indus, described as of four different colours:—white, pale-yellow, red and dark blue.

[1] An economic fact of historic importance. The Ceylonese used to commit fraud in pearl industry.

130-132. Excepting pearls the *rati* of all gems is made by twenty *Kshumâs*. Three *ratis* of pearls, however, are made by four *krishnalas*. Twenty-four *ratis* make one *ratnatanka*.

[1]133. Four *tankas* make one *tola* in the case of gold and corals.

134-135. The price of one whole *vajra* (diamond) weighing one *rati* but wide in extent is five *suvarnas* or gold coins.

136. The price is five times (*i. e.*, twenty-five gold coins) if it be heavier than one *rati* and superior in extent.

137. The price is to be less and less according as the quality falls off.

138. Eight *ratis* make one *mâshâ*, ten *mâshâs* make one *suvarna*.

[2]139. Five times that *suvarna* make eighty silver *Karshakas*.

140-142. The value of diamond is according to its weight in terms of *rati*. The value of the flat diamond is one-third less, and of that having the colour of red powder of bricks is one-half.

143-144. Two diamonds weighing (together) one *rati* are valued at half the (original) price. Those that are middling or inferior deserve half this price (*i. e.*, one-fourth of the original price.)

145-148. According to the inferiority of quality, the value of a diamond may be half or a quarter of a first class one. Multiplying the weight in *ratis* by nine-sixteenths, would be the value of an inferior one. Similarly, five-sixteenths *plus* one-thirteenth would be the value of smaller diamonds.

149-155. Pearls.—The value of pearls is to be estimated according as it is of the first, middling or inferior quality. If the pearl is of more than a thousand *ratis* in weight, then for every hundred *ratis*, the value would be the same as of a diamond, less three hundred divided by sixteen. From the weight of pearls above 100 *ratis*, deduct 20 *ratis* for every 100 *ratis*, after such deduction, the value of each *rati* will be that of the first class diamond. For the flattened pearl, the value will be that of a flattened diamond, after similar deduction.

156. One should never wear gems that have black or red spots.

157. The *gârutmata* or emerald, if it is good, deserves the price of *mânikya* or ruby.

[3]158. Gold, when compared with *rati*, has to be measured in terms of its weight.

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[1] The standard of measurement of gems :—20 क्षमा = 1 रवि (excepting pearls). 4 कृष्णल = 3 रवि (pearls). 24 रवि = 1 टङ्क. 4 टङ्क = 1 तोला (of gold and corals).

[2] 8 रति = 1 माष. 10 माष = 1 सुवर्ण. 5 सुवर्ण = 80 कर्षक.

[3] It is not the size but the weight of the *rati* that is to be compared with gold and used in its measurement,

159. The *pushyarâga* weighting one *rati* deserves half the price of *Indranila* or *gold* (of the same weight).

160. The *vaiduryya* whose three rays are coming out deserves high price.

161. Corals weighing one *tola* deserve half the price of the gold (of the same weight).

162. *Gomeda* does not deserve weighing, as it is very low priced.

[1]163. Excepting diamonds the value of small gems has to be determined by number (not weight).

[2]164. But that of very fine and rare ones is to be determined by fancy (demand).

[3]165. So also the price of very fine things has not to be determined by weight.

166-167. Multiply the weight of the pearl in *ratis* by $14\frac{1}{4}$ and divide the product by 24, the quotient will be the value of the pearl in so many *ratis* of gold.

168-170. The best pearls are valued at half the price of gold, and the inferior ones in proportion to their quality. The best pearls are the red, yellow, round and white. The worst are the flat and those having the colour of powdered bricks. The rest are middling.

171-172. There are natural defects in gems, but metals have artificial defects. So the wise man should determine their value by carefully examining them.

173-175. Gold, Silver, Copper, Zinc, Lead, Tin, and Iron—these are the seven metals. Others are mixtures (alloys). They are superior according to their place in the above enumeration, gold being the best.

176. Bronze is the alloy of Zinc and Copper, *pitala* (Brass) of Copper and Tin.

[4]177. Gold of the same weight (as other metals) is small in volume. Others are bulky.

178-179. If two pieces of a metal—one a pure and another suspected of alloy—be successively passed through the same whole, and threads

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[1] Even the smallest particles of हीरक or diamond have to be valued by weight. But others are valued by counting, if of very small size.

[2] काम Desire, fancy, demand has been regarded as the determinant of value in the case of all rare and fanciful things.

[3] There is a 'Fancy price' for all these things as would be said by moderners.

[4] Ratio of gold to other metals; The density of gold is high, hence great weight in small bulk.

of equal lengths be drawn out of them, and weighed, and if the weights of each are equal, then the metal is unalloyed, otherwise not.

180. Iron in the form of tool, implements and weapons is very valuable.

181. The value of Gold is sixteen times that of Silver.

182. The value of Silver is almost eighty times that of Copper.

183-184. The value of Copper is one and a half time that of Zinc. The value of Zinc is twice that of Tin, and thrice that of Lead. The value of Copper is six times that of Iron.

[1]185. These are the special remarks on value. General remarks have been already made.

186-187. The cow with good horns and fine colour, which gives plenty of sweet milk, and has good calves has very high value whether young, small or big.

[2]188. The price of a cow which has calves and which gives one *prastha* of milk is one silver pala.

189. The value of a she-goat is half that of the cow, that of the female sheep half that of the she-goat.

190. The price of a strong and fighting sheep is a silver *pala* (eight rupees.)

191. The high price for cows is eight or ten silver *palas* (*i.e.*, sixty-four or eighty rupees.)

192. The high price of the she-goat and the female sheep is one silver *pala* (*i.e.*, eight rupees.)

193. The high price of the buffalo is the same as that of the cow or one and a half time that.

[3]194-195. The price of the bull with good horns, fair colour, and sufficient strength, which can carry burdens and can walk fast, and which has the height of eight *tâlas* is sixty *palas* (or four-hundred and eighty rupees.)

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[1] The relation between the metals in value :—

Gold	=	16 Silver.
Silver	=	80 Copper.
Copper	=	1½ Zinc.
Zinc	=	2 Tin.
,,	=	3 Lead.
Copper	=	6 Iron.

[2] प्रस्थ—a measure already described as liquid standard about four seers. पल –8 तोला, So the price would be 8 silver rupees.

[3] ताल already described.

196. The high price for she-buffaloes is seven or eight *palas* (fifty-six or sixty-four rupees).

197. The high price for horses and elephants is two, three or four thousand (*palas*).

198. The high price of camels is known to be that of the buffalo.

[1]199-200. The good horse is that which can go one hundred *Yojanas* in one day. Its price is five hundred gold (eight thousand silver rupees).

201-202. The good camel is that which can go thirty *Yojanas* in one day. Its price is one hundred silver *palas* (eight hundred rupees).

203-204. The elephant that is unrivalled in strength, height, fight and *mada* (rut) is priced at two thousand *Nishkas*.

205. *Nishka* is the value of gold weighing four *mâshâs*.

[2]206. And in estimating the value of elephants five *ratis* make one *mâshâ*.

207. Those which are rare in this world are priced as gems.

[3]208. One should fix the price according to Time and Space.

209. There is no price for worthless things that cannot be used for any purposes.

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[1] योजन-5 miles according to Śukra, 8 miles generally.

[2] The price of the best elephant is therefore 8,000 *mâshâs* of gold or 40,000 *ratis* of gold or 640,000 *ratis* of silver or $\frac{640,000}{96}$ *tolâs* or silver ($\frac{40,000}{6}$ = 6,666 rupees) = Rs. 6,666 approximately.

[3] The mention of prices and ratios in the above lines gives a good statistics which might be used as the basis for the formation of an *Index Number*.

Ordinary prices :—

Item				
Cow	=	1 pala silver	=	8 tolas or rupees.
She-goat	=	½ cow	=	4 tolas or rupees.
She-sheep	=	½ goat	=	2 tolas or rupees.
Sheep	=	1 pala silver	=	8 tolas or rupees.
Elephant or horse	=		=	2,000, 3,000, or 4,000 rupees.
Camel	=	Buffalo	=	56 or 64 rupees.

High prices for best things :—

Item				
Cow	=	8 or 10 palas silver	=	64 or 80 rupees.
She-goat	=	1 pala silver	=	8 rupees.
She-sheep	=	1 pala silver	=	8 rupees.
She-buffalo	=	Cow or 1½ cow	=	64 or 80, or 96 or 120 rupees.
Bull	=	60 palas silver	=	480 rupees.
Buffalo	=	7 or 8 palas	=	56 or 64 rupees.
Best horse	=	500 gold	=	8,000 rupees.
Best camel	=	100 silver palas	=	800 rupees.
Elephant	=	2,000 gold Nishkas	=	6,666 rupees.

210-211. And there are a high price, low price and middling price in the valuation of all things. This is to be always considered by wise people.

212. *Sulka* or Duty is the king's share received from the buyer and the seller.

213. The regions of Sulka or Duty are the market places, streets and mines

214. Duties are to be levied on goods only once.

215. The duty should not be realised more than once by the king through craft.

216. The king should receive the thirty-second portion from the seller or buyer.

[1]217. The twentieth or sixteenth part, as the duty, is not a draw-back upon the price.

218. The king should not realise duty from the seller when he receives what is less than or just equal to the cost.

[2]219. He should receive it from the buyer after seeing that he is a gainer.

220-221. Having ascertained the amount of produce from the measured plots of land, whether great, middling or small, the king should desire revenue and then apportion it among them.

[3]222-223. The king should receive rent from the peasant in such a way that he be not destroyed. It is to be realised in the fashion of the weaver of the garland not of the coal merchant.

224-226. That agriculture is successful which yields a profit twice the expenditure (including Government demand) after duly considering the variations in actual produce, *e. g.*, great, middling or small. Any thing less than that is unsatisfactory.

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[1] Even a twentieth or sixteenth part of the price of a commodity is a fair and legitimate duty.

[2] If the seller has to give the commodity at a loss no duty is to be realised from him but it is to be realised from the buyer.

A good maxim of public finance. But how is that to be done? So also it is very difficult to carry out in practice the rule that duty should be realised only once on every commodity. For it may be bought and sold many times.

[3] The coal merchant sets fire to the woods to make charcoal and thus destroys the whole property. But the weaver of garlands plucks from the trees only those flowers which are full blown and preserves the rest as well as the trees for future use.

[1]227-229. The king should realise one-third, one-fourth, or one-half from places which are irrigated by tanks, canals and wells, by rains and by rivers, respectively.

230. He should have one-sixth from barren and rocky soils.

231-232. If the king gets one hundred silver *karshas* from the cultivator he should give back to him twenty *karshas*.

[2]233-235. The king should realise from minerals at the following rates: half of gold, one-third of silver, one-fourth of copper, one-sixth of zinc and iron, half of gems, half of glass and lead; after the expenses have been met.

236. The king should realise from peasants, &c., after noticing the amount of profits.

237-238. He should realise one-third, one-fifth, one-seventh, one-tenth, or one-twentieth from the collectors of grasses and woods, &c.

[3]239-240. He should have one-eighth of the increase of goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes, and horses, and one-sixteenth of the milk of she-buffaloes, she-goats and female sheep.

241. The king should make the artists and artisans work one day in the fortnight.

[4]242-244. If people undertake new industries or cultivate new lands and dig tanks, canals, wells, &c., for their good, the king should not demand any thing of them until they realise profit twice the expenditure.

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[1] मातृकात्—These things are the mothers of the lands.

देव—The gods or natural agencies are the mothers of certain regions—*e. g.*, by supplying rain.

नदी—Rivers are also irrigators. Lands and countries are called the daughters or gifts of rivers.

Where rivers are mothers or irrigators, the cultivation is certain—and hence ½ may be taken as Government revenue. Where rain is the source of moisture, agriculture is precarious and uncertain. Hence the demand of the Government is to be very small. But where the tanks and artificial water supplies are the irrigators, cultivation is very difficult and expensive though certain. Hence the Government demand should be midway between the other two cases.

[2] व्ययशेष, &c.—The proportion mentioned above to be received from the remainder after paying the cost of extraction and production.

[3] These are levies in kind.

[4] That is, they should have remissions and suspensions of revenue for periods. This is how waste lands are to be improved and new enterprises encouraged. Here is an application of the principle of Partial Protection. *Śukrâchâryya* is thus definitely an advocate of the "*Young Industry*" argument.

245-246. The king should promptly realise the land revenues, wages, duties, interests, bribes, and rents without any delay.

247. The king should give to each cultivator the deed of rent having his own mark (seal).

[1]248-250. Having determined the land revenue of the village the king should receive it from one rich man in advance, or guarantee [for the payment] of that either by monthly or periodical instalments.

251-252. Or the king should appoint officers called *grâmapas* by paying one-sixteenth, one-twelfth, one-eighth or one-sixth of his own receipts

253-254. The king should receive milk of cows, &c., rice, for the kith and kin but should not receive paddy and clothes from buyers for his own enjoyment.

[2]255. The king should realise one thirty-second portion of the increase or interest of the usurer.

256. He should receive rents from houses and abodes as from cultivated lands.

[3]257. He should also have land tax from shopkeepers.

258. For the preservation and repair of the streets, he should have dues from those who use the streets.

259. The king should thus enjoy fruits everywhere but should protect all like a servant.

260. Thus has been described in brief the section on treasure.

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[1] Having divided the whole land into several proprietorships, the king should collect the revenue from and through one man who is to be responsible for the total dues of the village.

[2] वार्धुषिक One who lives upon increase.

[3] Land for houses and buildings is to be taxed at the same rate as that for cultivation. Land for stalls also should be taxed. The sellers have to pay duties not only for the commodities sold but also for the use of the land.

SECTION III.

THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.

1. Now in the Miscellaneous Chapter I shall describe the third Section of *Râṣṭra* or Commonwealth.

2. Both immovable and movable things are indicated by the term *Râṣṭra*.

3. The *Râṣṭrâ* belongs to him under whose submission it comes.

[1]4-5. *Kuveratâ* (possession of wealth) is hundred times superior to all the qualities. *Îṣatâ* (overlordship) is superior to that. It is the result of no mean penances.

6. The Sovereign flourishes in this world as a God, none others.

7. Men are protected by him and the subjects behave like him.

8-10. The man in whose kingdom people follow their own duties enjoys fully the result of his sovereignty, enjoys fame for ever.

11-12. A man lives in heaven who gets fame in this world. Disrepute is real hell. There is no other hell in this world.

13-14. Any other body (?) besides human body is hell. One should know the calamities and diseases to be the effects of sins.

15. So being himself dutiful the king should appoint the subjects to their own duties.

16. So the subjects always approach a king who is religious and authoritative.

[2]17-19. The local customs, the social customs and the domestic customs, those duties that have been prescribed as eternal and universal by the sages, the old and the new regulations--all these are to be carefully observed by the king for the protection of the realm.

20. The king achieves fame and wealth by maintaining virtue.

21. In ancient times the castes were divided into four classes by Brahmâ according to their activities.

[3]22-23. Owing to their intermixtures, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, an infinitude of castes has been created which it is difficult to explain.

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[1] The sovereignty or possession of authority over others is the most desirable thing and the result of great virtues.

[2] The धर्म्म may vary with time, place, race and family. So the good king should observe and respect all.

[3] अनुलोम--If a man of the higher caste marries a woman of the lower the intermixture would be called अनुलोम. प्रतिलोम—If a man of the lower caste marries a woman of the higher caste the Sânkaryya or intermixture would be प्रतिलोम.

24-25. Those who know of caste differences by birth can tell of differences in name and activity.

26. The castes may be summarised as *jarâyuja* or born of fœtus, *aṇḍaja* or born from eggs, *swedaja* or born from drops of perspiration and *udvijja* or plants.

27-28. The man who is good by birth becomes low by low associations. But the man who is low by birth cannot be high by associations.

29. But in course of time through work as well as attributes high and low orders are created.

[1]30. *Jâti* or caste is described by learning or occupation.

[2]31. Sacrifice, study and charity are the functions of the *Dwijanma*, *i.e.*, the twice-born.

[3]32. The additional (special) functions of Brâhmaṇas are begging, teaching and *Yâjana* (conducting a sacrifice).

33. The additional (special) functions of Kṣatriyas are protection of the good, suppression of the wicked and realization of revenues.

34. The additional (special) functions of the Vaiśyas are agriculture, pasture and commerce.

35. The lower functions of Śûdras are charity and service.

36. The remuneration and means of livelihood of the various classes vary according to difference of functions.

37. For Brâhmaṇas, agriculture by tilling the soil has been prescribed by Manu and other masters.

[4]38-39. Sixteen cows have to be employed to their ploughs by Brâhmaṇas, four less by the others. Two cows by *antyajas* according to the softness of the soil.

40. Begging by anybody else besides Brâhmaṇas is to be condemned.

41-42. The whole Veda with interpretations has to be studied by the twice-born in connexion with various penances, and miscellaneous rites and ceremonies.

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[1] जाति—defined: (i) according to विद्या, *e.g.*, दार्शनिक जाति, the philosophers, botanists, &c., (ii) according to कला, art and industry, *i.e.*, occupation, *e.g.*, weaver.

[2] These functions are common to Brâhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas as well as Vaiśyas. Each, however, has special functions which are mentioned below.

[3] These special functions describe the various occupations for livelihood.

[4] Brâhmaṇas should have 16 cows to their ploughs.

Kṣatriyas	„ 12	„	„
Vaiśyas	„ 8	„	„
Śûdras	„ 4	„	„
Antyajas	„ 2	„	„

43-44. The man who has mastered the sciences and the arts should be the preceptor of all. But one who is unlearned cannot be preceptor because of birth.

45. The arts and sciences are infinite and cannot be enumerated.

46. The primary *Vidyâs* are thirty, and the primary arts are sixty-four.

[1]47-48. *Vidyâ* is known to be that which can be said. *Kalâ* is that which can be done by even the dumb.

49-50. The general characteristics have been mentioned, the special marks are being described separately, the names of the *Vidyâs* and *Kalâs.*

[2]51-52. *Ṛig, Yajus, Sâma, Atharvan* are the Vedas; *Âyus, Dhanus, Gândharva,* as well as *Tantras* are the *Upavedas.*

53-54. The six Aṅgas of the Vedas are Śikṣâ (Pronunciation), Vyâkaraṇa (Grammar), Kalpa (Rituals), Nirukta (Etymology), Jyotiṣ (Astronomy) and Chhandas (Prosody).

[3]55-59. The Mîmâṃsâs, Tarka, Samkhya, Vedânta, Yoga, Itihâsas, Purâṇas, Smṛitis, theory of Sceptics, Artha Śâstra, Kâma Śâstra, Silpa

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[1] The distinction between Science and Art is the same as that between विद्या and कला.

[2] तन्त्र—Tantras are a section of the Vedic literature. So mere mention of तन्त्र does not point to a statement being that of very modern facts.

[3] The specially noticeable points are the facts that इतिहासs are quite distinct from पुराणs, that the theories of नास्तिकs as well as Yavanas are mentioned as branches of learning, and देशभाषा as well as देशादिधर्म्म are also respected in the same breath with the Vedas and Vedântas.

The 32 Sciences are :—

No.	Science						Count
1.	Vedas	...	...	...	...	...	4
2.	Upavedas	...	...	...	...	...	4
3.	Vedâṅgas	...	...	...	...	...	6
4.	Darśanas	...	...	...	...	...	6
5.	Itihâsa	...	...	..	...	...	1
6.	Purâṇa	...	...	...	...	...	1
7.	Smṛiti	...	...	...	...	...	1
8.	Scepticism	...	...	...	...	...	1
9.	Artha Śâstra	...	...	...	...	...	1
10.	Kâma Śâstra	...	...	...	...	...	1
11.	Śilpa Śâstra	...	...	...	...	...	1
12.	Alaṅkâra	...	...	...	...	...	1
13.	Kâvya	...	...	...	...	...	1
14.	Deśabhâśâ	...	...	...	...	...	1
15.	Avasasokti	...	...	..	...	...	1
16.	Yavana Philosophy		...	...	...	...	1
					Total	...	32

Śâstra, Alaṅkâra (Rhetoric), Kâvyas, language of the folk (vernacular), the art of speaking properly, the theory of Yavanas, and manners and customs of countries and nations—these are the thirty-two Vidyâs.

60. The name of Mantras and Brâhmaṇas is Veda, *e.g.*, the Ṛig, etc.

61. The adorations and salutations according to these give satisfaction to the gods.

[1]62. The Mantras are so called because they are pronounced. Brâhmaṇas are those that apply these Mantras.

[2]63-64. The Ṛig portion of the Vedas is that in which the *mantras* or hymns are in praise of the gods, where the *mantras* are arranged in rhythmical form as quarter-verse or half-verse, and where the *mantras* are used for sacrifices.

[3]65-67. The Yajur-veda is that in which the *mantras* are read in any order without verse and music, in which the service of an Adhvaryyu or priest for conducting sacrifice is required and in which the *mantras* are to be read thrice.

68. The *Sâma* is that of which the *mantras* are sung in sacrifices.

69. *Atharvâṅgirasa* is that in which there is the relation between the adored and the adorer.

70. Thus has been described in brief the fourfold Veda.

[4]71-72. *Âyurveda* is that Upaveda of Ṛig-veda by which one knows and acquires health from a study of the physique and the medicines.

[5]73-74. *Dhanurveda* or Science of Archery is that *Upaveda* of Yajur-veda by which one can be proficient in fighting, the use of arms and weapons and the formation of battle arrays.

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[1] The two sections of the Vedas have been described here. They contain things by using which men may satisfy the gods. Of these, the portion that is recited is called *mantra*, and the portion that is done is called *Brâhmaṇa*.

[2] The characteristics of Ṛig-veda :

(1) The *mantras* are to be in rhythmical form.

(2) The *mantras* are to be used for होम.

(3) The *mantras* are to be स्तवरूपा *i.e.*, in praise of gods.

[3] Like the Rig-veda the Yajur-veda has also three characteristics.

[4] आयुर्वेद has two functions—(1) वेत्ति *i.e.*, one can by its help know of आयु (life and health)—thus it is a science giving laws of health ; (2) विन्दति *i.e.*, one can by its help acquire (life and health)—thus an art. This branch of learning has also two Departments—(1) आकृति, study of the physique, *i.e.*, anatomy and physiology ; (2) औषधि, Therapeutics and medicine.

[5] The whole military science comes under धनुर्वेद, not simply that of bows and arrows.

[1]75-76. *Gândharva*-veda is that science of music by which one can know of the various voices, *e.g.*, *udâtta*, *anudâtta*, &c., produced by instruments and the throat, together with the beats of time.

[2]77-79. *Tantra* is the Upaveda of *Atharva-veda* in which are described the six uses of the various *mantras* to the adored beings, as well as the various means of counteracting the effects of the *mantras*, together with the various rites and ceremonies.

[3]80-81. *Śikṣâ* is the science of the pronunciation of letters according to *Swara* (voice), *Kâla* (time), *Sthâna* (place), *Prayatna* (exercise of the muscles of the mouth), *Anupradâna* and *Savana* (origin).

[4]82-83. That portion of the *Brâhmaṇas* which contains rules about sacrifices is known to be *Śrauta kalpa*. *Smârta kalpa* is another (science).

84-85. *Vyâkaraṇa* or Grammar is the science in which words are analysed according to their roots, inflexions, sandhis, samâsas and genders.

86-87. *Nirukta* is that which explains *Śavdas* or words and sentences. Hence this Vedâṅga is called the ear of the Vedas.

[5]88-89. *Jyotiṣa* is that science which measures time by studying the movements of planets and stars, the *Saṃhitâs*, *Horâ Śâstras* and *Gaṇitas*.

90-91. *Chhandas* is the science by which verses are constructed according to the rhythmical scheme *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, &c. It is like the foot of the Vedas.

[6]92-93. *Mîmâṃsâ* or *Nyâya* is that science by which the expressions of the Vedas are explained and interpreted according to the ceremonies in the Brâhmaṇas.

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[1] गान्धर्ववेद—Is thus the science of music both vocal कण्ठ and instrumental तन्त्री. It is most probably an Upaveda of Sâma-veda.

[2] तन्त्र—Has the following characteristics—(i) मन्त्रs to the उपास्य, (ii) Their six uses described, (iii) उपसंहार The methods of counteracting the effect produced by certain actions, (iv) धर्म्मनियम rites and observances to be followed in using or counteracting the *mantras*.

[3] स्वर—The voice is of three kinds,—*udâtta* (sharp tone), *anudâtta* (grave accent), *Swarita* (accented, pitched).

Pronunciation according to time is of three kinds—ह्रस्व (short), दीर्घ (long), प्लुत ("protracted or continuous sound being three times the length of a short vowel and occupying three moments in its utterance"—Wilson). सवन (origin).

[4] There are two Kalpas—(1) *Śrauta kalpa* which is a portion of the Vedas called वेदाङ्ग and (2) *Smârta kalpa* which is not a Vedâṅga but contains rules about things other इतर than यज्ञ, *i.e.*, Śrâddhas (funeral ceremonies), worship, &c., which are mentioned in the *Smṛitis*.

[5] *Jyotiṣa* is thus not mere astronomy, but (1) this together with other sciences, *viz.*, (2) *Saṃhitâ* (Bhṛigu, Parâśara, &c.), (3) *Horâ Śâstra*, (4) *Gaṇita* (Mathematics).

[6] It is the *Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ* which illustrates the Karmakâṇḍa of the Vedas.

94-95. (The *Vaiśeṣika* is that) which contains arguments about the existence or non-existence of material objects and which comes from *Kaṇâda* and others.

[1]96-97. *Saṃkhyâ* is that in which *Puruṣa*, eight *Prakṛitis*, sixteen *Vikâras* and other facts are specifically enumerated.

98-99. "*Brahma* exists alone without a second. The many do not exist. Every thing appears through ignorance and illusion"—this is the theory of those who follow *Vedânta*.

100-101. The *Yoga Śâstra* is that science by which the passions of the mind may be restrained by processes for regulating the breath movements, contemplation and meditation.

102-103. *Itihâsa* is that which narrates past events in and through the pretexts of the actions of kings.

[2]104-105. *Purâṇa* is that which contains an account of creation, destruction, the dynasties, the cycles or epochs and the incidents and events under each dynasty.

106-107. *Smṛiti* is that which investigates the castes and duties not at variance with the Vedas and describes the social and economic morals.

108-109. *Nâstika* theory or scepticism is that which advocates the predominance of Reason, the origin of all things from Nature (not from God) and the non-existence of the Vedas.

[3]110-111. *Artha Śâstra* is that science which describes the actions and administration of kings in accordance with the dictates of Śruti and Smṛiti, as well as the means of livelihood in a proper manner.

[4]112-114. *Kâma Śâstra* is that which describes the marks of living beings, both male and female, *e.g.*, of men according to their physical character and inward characteristics, and of women according to external and internal characteristics.

115-116. That science is said by the sages to be *Śilpa Śâstra* which treats of (the construction of) palaces, images, parks, houses, canals, and other good works.

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[1] प्रकृति "A radical form or predicament of being,--an illusion, intelligence, consciousness, and the five elements (*viz.*, Âkâśa, Fire, Earth, Air and Water.)"

[2] *Purâṇa* is thus more comprehensive than *Itihasa*. The historian has to use the राजकृत्य as a mere peg on which to hang his accounts of ancient times.

[3] अर्थशास्त्र—Is thus a two-fold science, Politics as well as Economics.

[4] शशादि, &c.—Physical characteristics. The man is like a hare, शश, &c.

अनुकूल, &c.—Mental and moral characteristics. The man is favourable, &c.

पद्मिनी—Physical character of women. They are described as being like a lotus, &c.

स्वीय—One's own, etc. This refers to the mental and moral characteristics of women who may be स्वीय, परकीय, *i.e.*, egoistic, altruistic, &c.

117-118. *Alaṅkṛiti* or Rhetoric is that in which the attributes of objects are narrated as equal to, and less or greater than others, according to the varieties of analogy—contrast, simile or metaphor.

[1]119-120. *Kâvya* is that which appeals to the various tastes, has figures or ornaments, no defective terms, gives rise to much pleasure and is varied according to verse or prose.

[2]121-122. *Daiśiki* or local language is that which is intelligible by reference to common usage, and which serves the purpose without requiring the help of dictionaries and the guidance of Śâstras.

[3]123. *Avasarokti* is known to be that science which teaches the proper use of words and expressions at the proper time.

[4]124-126. *Yavana* philosophy is that which recognises God as the invisible creator of this universe, and recognises virtue and vice without reference to *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*, and which believes that *Śruti* contains a separate religious system.

[5]127-128. *Deśâdidharma* or custom is that which may trace its origin in the *Srutis* or may not, but is always followed by the people in different climes and families.

129. Thus have been described separately the marks of the various *Vidyâs*.

130-131. The *Kalâs* or arts have not only different names and marks but these differ according to the different functions.

132. The species of *Kalâ* is named after the function it serves (the work it does).

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[1] Five characteristics of काव्य,—(1) रसयुक्त, *i.e.*, it must embody the various sentiments, *e.g.*, *Sriṅgâra* or love, *Hâsya* or mirth, *Karuṇâ* or tenderness, *Rudra* or anger, *Vira* or heroism, *Bhayânaka* or terror, *Vibhatsa* or disgust, *Adbhuta* or surprise.

(2) अलङ्कारयुक्त—Figurative, full of images and similes.

(3) दोषरहित—Without any defect, *e.g.*, those of vulgarism, vagueness, archaism, &c.

(4) चमत्कारबीज—Must give pleasure.

(5) पद्यातिभेदत:—May be both prose and verse.

[2] It is the ordinary language of the streets or Vernacular as it is called which does not require the use of Vedas, कोश, &c., but which can be understood by reference to लोकरूढ़ि or common parlance.

[3] It is the art of saying the right thing at the right moment. It is thus a branch of diplomacy or etiquette.

[4] This, therefore, is not necessarily atheism, but what in modern times could be regarded as an alien and non-national religion.

[5] Custom—(1) by a sort of fiction (कल्पित) finds its origin in the *Śrutis*, (2) may not be traced to *Śrutis*, (3) respected by people, (4) varying with country and family. Thus there may be several देशधर्म, several कुलधर्म, &c., just as there may be local gods, family gods, etc.

133. *Nartan* or dancing with appropriate gestures and movements is an art.

134. *Vâdana* or playing on musical instruments is also an art.

135. The decoration of men and women by dress and ornaments is an art.

136. The performance and knowledge of the sundry mimicry and antics is an art.

137. The laying out of beds and furniture and the weaving of garlands, &c., constitute an art.

138-139. The entertainment of people by gambling and various tricks of magic is an art. The (knowledge of) different aspects of giving pleasure is an art.

140. These seven arts are called *Gândharva*.

141. The distillation of wines and spirituous liquors from flowers, &c., is an art.

142. The extrication of thorns and the relieving of pain by operating on the wounds of a vein constitute an art.

143. The cooking of food by intermixtures of various tastes is an art.

144. The planting, grafting and preservation of plants constitute an art.

145. The melting and powdering of stones and metals constitute an art.

146. The act of using preparations from sugarcanes is known to be an art.

[1]147. The knowledge of mixtures of metals and medicinal plants constitutes an art.

[2]148. The knowledge of the analysis and synthesis of metals constitutes an art.

149. The preparation of new substances (alloys) out of metals by combinations is an art.

150. The preparation of salts constitutes an art.

[3]151. These ten *Kalâs* are mentioned in *Âyurveda* and other (medical) sciences.

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[1] **This refers to pharmaceutical preparations.**

[2] **सांकर्यं—Combination or synthesis.**

पार्थक्य—Analysis.

[3] **The medical science must therefore have been very comprehensive, comprising so many arts, the preparation of alcohol, operation of wounds, cooking, gardening, metallurgy, pharmacy, and chemical processes and manipulations.**

152. The use and employment of arms by the proper arrangement of legs constitutes an art.

153. Duelling by the various artifices is an art.

154. A *Vâhujuddha* or hand to hand fight is the combat between duellers without weapons.

155. The man who dies thereby does not attain heaven nor fame in this world.

156-157. The *Nijuddha* is meant for fame only, destruction of the enemy's power and vanity. A hand to hand fight should not lead to anybody's death.

158-60. An attack by duellers, that which is made by various dangerous artifices of hands, and by throwing down the opponent in various ways, &c.

[1]And *Pratikriyâ* is the method of extricating oneself from these.

[2]161. The throwing of arms and implements towards some fixed point is an art.

162. The formations of battle arrays according to the signals given by musical instruments (bugles) is an art.

163. The arrangement of horses, elephants and chariots in war is an art.

[3]164. These five arts are mentioned in *Dhanurveda* or the science of military tactics.

165. The propitiation of gods by various seats and postures is an art.

166. The act of driving horses and elephants is an art, as well as that of teaching them.

167-168. Earthen, wooden, stone and metal vessels give rise to four separate arts in the matter of their cleansing, polishing, dyeing or rinsing ; picture-drawing is also an art.

169. The construction of tanks, canals, palaces, and *squares* (?) is an art.

170. The construction of clocks, watches and musical instruments is an art.

171. The dyeing by the application of inferior, middling and other colours is an art.

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[1] Various feats in boxing are mentioned here.

[2] This is the art of fixing the aim by striking a fixed object at some distance.

[3] Just as the sciences of *Gândharvaveda*, and *Âyurveda* have their own arts, so also this science, *Dhanurveda* (which is an *Upaveda* of *Yajurveda*) has these five arts or five practical aspects.

172. The act of putting down the actions of water, air and fire is an art.

173. The preparation of boats, chariots and conveyances is an art.

174. The preparation of threads and ropes is an art.

175. The weaving of fabrics by various threads is an art.

176. The testing of gems as to whether they are good or bad as possessing marks or holes is an art.

177. The testing of gold and other metals is an art.

178. The preparation of artificial gold and gems is an art.

[1]179. The making of ornaments with gold and other metals is an art, as well as enamelling of metals.

180. The softening of leathers is an art.

[2]181. The flaying of skins from the bodies of the beasts is an art.

182. Milking and churning constitute two arts.

183. The knowledge of sewing of covers (coats and shirts) is an art.

184. Crossing waters by arms (swimming) is an art.

185. The cleansing of domestic utensils is an art.

186. Cleaning of clothes and shaving are two arts.

187. The extraction of oil from seeds and flesh (fats) is an art.

188. The drawing of ploughs and the climbing of trees are two arts.

189. The knowledge of work in such a way as to please somebody is an art.

[3]190. The making of vessels with bamboo straws, etc., is an art.

[4]191. The making of glass vessels is an art.

192. The pumping and withdrawing of water constitute an art.

193. The preparation of tools and implements from iron is an art.

194. The preparation of saddles for horses, elephants, bulls and camels is an art.

[5]195. The maintenance, and entertainment, and nursing ofchildren constitute an art.

196. The punishment of offenders, *e.g.*, whipping, is an art.

[6]197. The writing of the characters of various languages is an art.

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[1] Two arts are mentioned in this line. *Enamelling* was practised as an art, it appears.

[2] Leather Industry is mentioned in its two processes—(1) The flaying of the skin, (2) The softening of the hide (tanning).

[3] Cane-work it is called—basket-making, etc.

[4] Glass is mentioned here as also in other places in *Śukraniti*.

[5] Nursing was learnt and practised as an art it seems. At any rate the midwives must have been trained in this art.

[6] The knowledge and practice of the various alphabets of different peoples were respected as an independent branch of learning. And it is implied that there were men who equipped themselves specially with this art.

198. The making and preservation of the betels constitute an art.

199-200. Speed in taking, but delay in giving—these are the two features of all arts. (?)

201. The sixty-four arts have thus been enumerated in brief.

[1]202. One should do work with the help of the various Kalâs mentioned.

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[1] The enumeration of the 64 कलाs gives a picture of the industrial and economic condition of the age described in *Śukraniti*, as that of the विद्या gives a picture of the intellectual and literary condition. And the two pictures together constitute a graphic account of the actual social life the people of India lived in those times.

After going through this one can hardly believe that the Hindus were a race of abstract metaphysicians who were negligent of the actual needs of the society cultivated the art of preparing for the next life only. One would rather think that they knew how to enjoy life and supply its necessaries, comforts and decencies. Economically speaking, they were as self-sufficient as any people could possibly be, and made their material and secular life as comfortable and happy as possible. And intellectually speaking, they were competent enough to investigate not only the highest truths of the universe—the eternal problems of existence, but also to study and discuss all those branches of learning which had for their aim the practical furtherance of social ends—the amelioration of human life.

The more one studies the social, economic, political and other secular facts of the civilisation of the Hindus the more one is impressed with the fact that their institutions—industrial, educational and administrative—were adequate for all the ends of human existence ; and if they differ from anything of the kind in modern times or in other countries it is because of the adaptation to the circumstances and conditions of time and place which is the fundamental cause of all varieties and divergences in the universe. And those who advocate the doctrine of *relativity of institutions* cannot think of the Hindus as an economically inefficient or politically incompetent race or as one who has no industrial or political aptitudes. The fact rather is, in all these aspects of secular civilisation, they represent a distinct type which is not necessarily low, mediæval or primitive simply because it does not resemble the types that are predominant to-day.

THE SIXTY-FOUR KALÂS.

A.—Twenty-three arts derived from the *Vedas* through the 4 *Upavedas*.

I. *Gândharva*—(1) Dancing, (2) Playing on musical instruments, (3) Decorations, (4) Antics, (5) Laying out beds, etc., (6) Jugglery, magic, etc., (7) Sexual intercourse.

II. *Âyurveda*—(1) Preparation of alcohol, (2) Surgical operations (3) Cooking, (4) Gardening, (5) Metallurgy, (6) Confectionery, (7) Pharmacy, (8) Analysis and Synthesis of metals, (9) Alloys, (10) Salts.

III. *Dhanurveda*—(1) Taking up of stands for the employment of arms, (2) Duelling, (3) Marking of aim, (4) Battle arrays, (5) Employment of horses, chariots, etc.

IV. *Tantra* (?)—Sitting in meditative postures.

B. Other कला—41.

(1) Driving horses and elephants, (2) Teaching horses and elephants, (3) Polishing earthen vessels, (4) Polishing wooden vessels, (5) Polishing stone vessels, (6) Polishing metal vessels, (7) Drawing, (8) Building, (9) Watches, Clocks, etc., (10) Dyeing, (11) Mechanical operations, putting down fire, etc., (12) Construction of boats and other conveyances, (13) Rope-making, thread spinning, (14) Weaving, (15) Testing of gems, (16) Testing of metals, (17) Preparation of artificial gems and metals, (18) Making of ornaments, (19) Enamelling, (20) Softening of leathers, (21) Flaying of hides, (22) Milking, (23) Churning, (24) Tailoring, (25) Swimming, (26) Cleansing of domestic utensils, (27) Washing, (28) Shaving, (29) Extraction and preparation of oils from fats and seeds, (30) Ploughing, (31) Climbing, (32) Flattering or Entertaining, (33) Cane-work, (34) Glass-work, (35) Pumping, (36) Work in Iron Foundries, (37) Preparation of saddles, (38) Nursing and management of babies, (39) Whipping criminals, (40) Writing in different alphabets, (41) Preparation of betels.

SECTION IV.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND INSTITUTIONS.

1-2. The *Brahmachâri*, the Householder, the *Vânaprastha* and the *Yati*—these are the four compulsory stages of every Brâhmaṇa.

[1]3. Of the others who follow the activities of the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śûdra—all except the last.

4-5. The *Brahmachârî* is the disciple who wants learning, the Householder is for maintaining all men, the *Vânaprastha* or the man who has retired to forests is for restraining (the passions and activities), and the *Sanyâsí* attempts the attainment of Salvation.

6. The castes and stages which exist otherwise should be punished.

[2]7-8. If disregarded by the king and unrestrained by his punishments, the high families become bad, the low ones become elevated.

9-10. The female Śûdra should never practise the following things without husband: recital of hymns, penances, pilgrimages, foreign travel, observance of *mantras* and worship of gods.

11. Women have no separate right to the use of the means for the realisation of the three-fold end, *e.g.*, virtue, wealth, and desires.

12-13. She should get up before her husband and purify her body, then raise the beddings and cleanse the house by sweeping and washing,

[3]14-15. should then come to the yard, covered with grass, cleanse the vessels used in sacrifices by hot water,

16. then should keep them at the proper place.

17. She should make the vessels empty and fill them (again with fresh water),

18-19. should wash the vessels of the kitchen on the outside, cleanse the hearth with earth (and other things) and place fire there with fuel.

[4]20. She should study the vessels to be used and the various

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[1] The first three stages are compulsory of all others.

[2] The king should maintain the several classes in their proper *âśramas* and punish them if they go astray. The performance of one's own duties in life according to caste and stage should be rigidly enforced.

[3] कुश—Grass.

[4] In this routine of duties and daily work one notices the virtues of a civilisation based mainly on domestic life and the rights and merits of persons not as citizens but as members of a family. Before the woman goes to pay respects to the superiors she must finish all the drudge work. So she must rise very early. Here is a very graphic account of the ordinary social (and material) life of the Hindus.

articles of food. Having thus finished the work of the forenoon she should bow down to the father-in-law and mother-in-law.

21-22. She should put on clothes, ornaments and jewels given by the father-in-law, mother-in-law, husband, parents and brothers, uncles and relatives.

23-25. The wife should be pure in mind, speech and action, abide by the instructions of her husband, and follow her like a pure shadow, and be a friend in all his good activities, and servant in all his commands.

26-28. She should then cook the food, inform her husband, and then feed those who are to be fed by the food first given to the gods of the universe.

29-30. Then her husband, and lastly herself, partake of the meals at the instance of her husband. She should then spend the remainder of the day time in studying the proper earnings and expenses (*i.e.*, settle accounts).

31-32. Then again in the evening *as well as in the morning* she should cleanse the house, cook the food, and feed the husband and the servants.

33-34. She should take her food not immoderately, finish the sundry domestic duties, then spread a good bed and serve the husband.

35-36. She should lie down on that bed after the husband is asleep with her mind fixed on him, not naked, not excited, without passions and by restraining senses.

37-38. She should not talk aloud or harsh, not call frequently (?) and not speak unpleasant things. Should not quarrel with anybody, and should not talk nonsense.

39. She should not be extravagant, nor act at variance with virtues and interests.

40-42. The good wife should give up words that indicate senselessness, lunacy, anger, and envy, and the contemptible vices of meanness, jealousy, excessive attachment to things of this world, vanity and boastfulness, atheism, adventurousness, thieving and pride.

43-44. Thus behaving with the husband as with a great god she gets fame in this world and heaven (?) in the next.

45. The daily duties of women have been mentioned above. The occasional functions are being narrated now.

46-49. She should give up all these things when she sees *rajas i.e.*, when she is menstruated. She should live bashfully in an inward

apartment unseen by anybody. She should have only one piece of cloth devoid of bath and ornaments, hence look thin and humble, and sleep on the ground without passions, and thus spend three days.

50-52. She should take her bath at the expiration of three nights with the clothes. She becomes pure after seeing her husband's face. After having thus purified herself she should work as before.

53. This is the duty of women of the twice-born castes and this is desired of others also.

54. The women should be assistants in the functions of the males, *viz.*, agriculture, shopkeeping, etc.

55-56. The woman should practise music, gentle manners, etc., according as the husband is master of these and perform the winning arts, etc., with regard to him.

57-59. When the husband is dead, the chaste woman should accompany him or observe the vow, should not like to go to other's houses, and should always maintain *brahmacharyya* or control of passions, should give up the daily ornamentation of self.

59-61. When the husband is gone abroad, the wife should be devoted to the adoration of the gods, wish well of the husband, put on things that indicate good, and only a few ornaments.

62-63. There is no lord like the husband, there is no happiness like the husband. The husband is the real protector of women—not all the wealth.

[1]64-65. The father gives measured things, the brother and son also give only limited things. Who does not worship the husband who is the giver of infinite (blessings)?

[2]66-68. The *Śûdra* is the fourth caste and hence as belonging to a caste has certain duties—except the *mantras* of the *Vedas*, *Swadhâ*, *Swahâ*, *Vaṣat*, etc., but only those actions which require *namas* as the sign of adoration, *viz.*, the *mantras* given in the Purâṇas.

[3]69-70. People should practise their duties like Brâhmaṇas if born of women married with Brâhmaṇas, like Kṣatriyas if born of women

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[1] Up to 64, the duties and functions of the twice-born have been mentioned.

[2] In any religious service, the Śûdra cannot pronounce the *mantras* स्वधा, स्वाहा, वषट् given in the Vedas. He has right to pronounce only नमस्—the Mantra mentioned in the Purâṇas. Thus he has right only to the study of Purâṇas.

स्वधा, स्वाहा, वषट्—exclamations used on presenting an oblation to the manes.

[3] A Śûdra woman may be married to a Brâhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya and would give rise to Brâhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya offsprings, respectively. It is the character of the husband that establishes the character of the issue to a marriage.

married with Kṣatiryas and like Vaiśyas if born of women married with Vaiśyas.

71. But people born of Vaiśya women by Kṣatriyas and Brâhmaṇas should be treated as Śûdras, also men born of Śûdra women (?).

72. The man who is born of a lower male and higher female is known as the worst of Śûdras.

73. The *Śûdrâdhama* or the worst of Śûdras should always practise his duties according to *nâma mantra* (*i.e.*, by repeating the name of god only) in a manner inferior to that of the *Śûdra*.

74-75. The *Yavanas* have all the four castes mixed together. They recognise authority other than that of the Vedas and live in the north and west.

76. Their *Śâstras* have been framed for their welfare by their own masters.

[1]77. But the rules that are followed for ordinary purposes are the same in the two cases.

78-79. Inferiority and superiority depend sometimes on the qualities of the seed, sometimes on the character of the field. But excellence is due to both.

[2]80-81. Viśwâmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Mâtaṅga and Nârada and others became elevated by special penances not by birth.

82-83. Every caste should practise the duties that have been mentioned as belonging to it and that have been practised by ancestors, and should otherwise be punished by kings.

84. The king should differentiate the castes and stages by separate marks of distinction.

85-87. The king should always keep in his kingdom the tools and implements of the metal workers after inspecting them; and maintain artists and artisans according to need, and employ additional workers in agriculture or menial service.

88. The goldsmiths are the fathers of thieves.

[3]89-90. He should build the *Ganjâ* house (a tavern) outside the

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[1] The home and characteristics of the यवन s are described here. It is mentioned that however much they might differ from those who follow the system of castes and stages in matters of आचार्य्य, शास्त्र, and प्रमाण, *i.e.*, sages, moral codes and authority, they are at one with them in rules of ordinary business-morality, व्यवहारनीति and the standards of daily life

[2] This is an intance of the क्षेत्र or field being good, not the seed or birth.

[3] Liquor-houses and other houses for indulgence in intoxication should be kept at a distance from the village.

village and there keep the drunkards. And should never allow drinking of liquor in his kingdom in the daytime.

91-93. The king should have the domestic plants planted in villages and the wild trees in the forests—the good ones at a distance of twenty cubits from one another, the middling at a distance of fifteen cubits and the ordinary ones at a distance of ten cubits and the youngest at a distance of five cubits.

[1]94. He should nourish them by stools of goats, sheep and cows, water as well as meat.

95-102. The *udumvara* (Ficus glomerata); *aśwattha* (the holy fig tree), *vata* (banyan), *chincha* (tamarind), *chandan* (sandal), *gambhala* (lime), *kadamba* (Nauclea Cadamba), *aśoka* (Jonesia asoka), *vakula* (Mimusops Elengi), *vilwa* (bael), *amrita*, *kapitthaka* (wood apple), *râjadan* (Mimusops hexandra), *âmra* (mango), *punnâga* (Calophyllum inophyllum); tuda (Mulberry); *champaka* (Michelia champaka); *nîpa* (a species of Aśoka); *koka* (a wild date tree); *amra* (Spondias mangifera), *sarala* (pine), *dârima* (pomegranate), *akṣota* (walnut). *śimśapâ* (Dalbergia sissoo), *vadara* (jujube), *nimba* (Neem), *jambira* (lime), *kṣirika*, *kharjura* (date), *devakaraja* (Pongamia glabra), *phâlgu* (opposite leaved fig tree), *Tâpinchha* (tamâla), *bhala* (Semecarpus anacardiam), *kudvâla* (ebony), *lavali* (Phyllanthus distichas), *dhâtri* (woodfordia floribunda), *kramuka* (betelnut), *mâtulungaka* (citron), *lakucha* (Artocarpus lakoocha), *nârikela* (cocoanut), *rambhâ* (plantains)—these are the trees which bear good fruits.

103. He should plant those trees which bear good flowers very near the village.

104. One should lay out a fair garden to the left of the dwelling house.

[2]105-106. The trees are to be watered in the morning and evening in summer, every alternate day in winter, in the fifth part of the day (*i.e.*, afternoon) in spring, never in the rainy season.

107-108. If trees have their fruits destroyed, the pouring of cold water after being cooked together with *Kulutha*, Mâśa (seeds), *Mudga* (pulse), *Yava* (barley) and *Tila* (oil seed) would lead to the growth of flowers and fruits.

109. Growth of trees can be helped by the application of water with which fishes are washed and cleansed.

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[1] Ordures and dungs have always been recognised as good manures.

[2] In these lines we get some of the agri-flori-horti-cultural ideas prevalent in those times.

110-112. The powder of the dungs of goats and sheep, the powder of *Yava* (barley), *Tila* (seeds), beef as well as water should be kept together (undisturbed) for seven nights. The application of this water leads very much to the growth in flowers and fruits of all trees.

113-114. Those trees which bear thorns, *e.g.*, the Khadira (catechu), etc., are known as wild and should be planted in forests.

115-122. *Khadira* (catechu), *aşmanta* (oxalis), *sâka* (Teak), *agnimatha*, (Premna spinosa), *syaunâka* (Bignonia Indica), *vabbula* (Acacia), *tamâla*, (Cinnamomum tamâla), *sâla* (Shorea robusta), *kûtaja* (Holarrhena antidysenterica), *dhava* (Anogeissus latifolia), *arjuna* (Terminalia arjuna), *palâśa* (Butea frondosa), *śaptaparņa* (Alstonia scholaris), *śamî* (Acacia spigera), *tunna* (Cedrala toona), *devadâru* (Pinus longifolia), *vikeñkaṭa* (Flacourtia sapida), *karamaṇda* (Carissa Carandas), *iñgudî* (Balanites Roxburghii), *bhûrja* (Betula bhojapatra), *viṣamuṣṭhi*, strychnos nuxvomica), *karîraka* (Capparis aphylla), *sallaki* (Boswellia serrata), *kâśmari* (Gmelina arborea), *pâṭha* (Stephania hernandifolia), *tinduka* (Diospyros Embryopteris), *vîjasâraka* (name of a tree not identified), *harîtakî* (Terminalia Chebula), *bhallâta* (Semecarpus anacardium), *sampâka* (name of a tree not identified), *arka* (Calotropis gigantea), *puṣkara* (a tree not identified), *arimeda* (Acacia Farnesiana), *pitadru* (a kind of pine tree), *śâlmalî* (Bombax malabaricum), *vibhîtaka* (Terminalia bellerica), *naravela* (a plant not identified), *madhuka* (Bassia latifolia) and other large trees.

123-124. Expansive trees, shrubs, and creepers are to be carefully planted in villages if domestic, in forests if wild.

125-129. Wells, canals, tanks and ponds should be made accessible, (by staircases, &c.) should have width twice or thrice the depth and footpaths round them. There should be many of these so that there may be plenty of water in the kingdom. Bridges should be constructed over rivers. There should also be boats and water conveyances for crossing the rivers.

130-131. The temples of the gods who are worshipped by a caste and houses of the preceptors who are the teachers of its arts and sciences should be situated in the front of the houses belonging to it.

132-133. The king should build temples for Viṣṇu, Śaṅkara, Gaṇeśa, Sun and Pârvatî in the squares, or the centre of the village.

134-137. (The temples are) to be of the *Meru* or some other of the sixteen types; to be beautiful, round, square or of some other mechanical form; to have *maṇḍapas* or halls, walls, *gopuras* or central gates; to have height twice or thrice the width, to have good images inside made according to

the prescribed rules, to have water at the foot and to be well painted or decorated.

138-139. [1]A *Meru* temple is that which has one thousand domes, has one hundred and twenty-five stories, is one thousand cubits wide and one thousand cubits high.

140-141. The *Mandara* and other types of temples mentioned below are one-eighth less than the preceding:—the *Mandara*, *Ṛikṣamâli*, *Dyumaṇi*, *Chandraśekhar*, *Mâlyavân*, *Pârijâtra*, *Ratnaśirṣa*, *Dhâtumân*, *Padmakoṣa*, *Puṣpahâsa*, *Śîkara*, *Swastika*, *Mahâpadma*, *Padmakûta*, and *Vijaya*, the sixteenth.

145-146. The *maṇḍapa* or hall of each temple is to be adapted to each and one-fourth less than the temple in height. The images should be placed or set up there with the hymns appropriate to the gods that have been embodied.

[2]147-151. The characteristic of an image is its power of helping

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[1] The मेरु temple described as having:—

(i) 1,000 domes. (ii) 125 stories.
(iii) 1,000 cubits height. (iv) 1,000 cubits width.

The मन्दिर is the temple having:-

(i) 875 domes. (ii) 110 stories.
(iii) 875 cubits height. (iv) 875 cubits width.

Thus one gets the following table:—

	Type.	Domes.	Stories.	Height in cubits.	Width in cubits.
1.	मेरु	1,000	125	1,000	1,000
2.	मन्दर	875	110	875	875
3.	ऋक्षमाली	766	96	766	766
4.	द्युमणि	670	84	670	670
5.	चन्द्रशेखर	586	74	586	586
6.	माल्यवान्	513	65	513	513
7.	परियात्र	449	57	449	449
8.	रत्नशीर्ष	393	50	393	393
9.	धातुमान्	344	44	344	344
10.	पद्मकोश	301	36	301	301
11.	पुष्पहास	263	32	263	263
12.	शीकर	230	28	230	230
13.	स्वस्तिक	201	25	201	201
14.	महापद्म	176	22	176	176
15.	पद्मकूट	154	19	154	154
16.	विजय	135	17	135	135

[2] Worship of images is here mentioned as only a means to an end. The image is the concrete embodiment of the divinity and helps the mind to fix itself on it by meditation.

forward contemplation and *yoga*. The human maker of images should therefore be meditative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use). Images are made of sands, pastes, paints, enamels, earth, woods, stones and metals and are strong in succession.

[1]152-153. The image constructed full according to the prescribed limbs is beautiful and yields virtue, otherwise takes away wealth and life and daily increases grief.

[2]154-157. The images of gods yield happiness to men, and lead to heaven; but those of men lead away from heaven and yield grief. That image is beautiful which is neither above nor below the fixed proportion. But the images of gods, even if deformed, are for the good of men.

[3]158. But the images of men, even if well formed, are never for human good.

159. Images are of three kinds—*sâttwika*, *râjasika*, and *tâmasika*.

[4]160. The images of Viṣṇu and other gods are to be worshipped in the *sâttwika*, *râjasika* or *tâmasika* form according to needs and circumstances.

[5]161-162. The *sâttwika* image is that which has *yogamudrâ* or the posture of meditation, the straight back, hands giving blessings and courage and has the gods represented as worshipping it.

163-164. The *râjasika* image is that which sits on some *vâhana* or conveyance, is adorned with numerous ornaments, and has hands equipped with arms and weapons as well as offering courage and blessings (to the devotees).

165-166. The *tâmasika* image is that which is a killer of demons by arms and weapons, which has a ferocious and vehement look and is eager for warfare.

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[1] The image must be rightly made according to the proportions of its limbs. The sanction that compels artists to be very careful is, as usual, of a religious nature. The artist must not bungle with the work entrusted to him.

[2] Here are some very serious injunctions against the construction of human images. Human beings must not be painted or sculptured.

[3] Images of gods, even deformed, are allowable but not those of human beings even though well proportioned.

[4] Each of the gods may be worshipped in the three forms. Each form is to be selected according to the purposes of the worshipper. The forms are being described below.

[5] Characteristics of सात्त्विक image :—

(1) योगमुद्रा—The eye fixed upon the tip of the nose as in meditation.

(2) स्वस्थ—Straight posture, unbending.

(3) वराभयकर—Hands displayed as giving blessings and courage to the worshippers.

(4) देवेन्द्र—The gods must be worshipping the image.

167-168. The hymns of Viṣṇu and other gods are being described in brief, measurements of the images and their limbs in detail.

169. An *aṅgula* is one-fourth of a *muṣṭi* (the closed fist of a hand).

170. The length of a *tâla* is twelve *aṅgulas*.

171-172. The image of dwarf is to be seven *tâlas* in height, that of men eight *tâlas*, that of gods nine *tâlas*, that of *Rákṣasas* ten *tâlas*.

173-174. The height of images varies from seven *tâlas* (mentioned above) according to the customs of localities. But images of females and dwarfs are always seven *tâlas*.

175-176. Nara, Nârâyaṇa, Râma, Nṛisiṃha, *Vâṇa*, Vali, Indra, Bhârgava (Paraśurâma) and Arjuna are of ten *tâlas*.

177-178. Chaṇḍi, Bhairava, Vetâla, Narasiṃha, Varâha, Hayaśîrṣa and others who are of a vehement type are to be twelve *tâlas*.

179. The images of Piśâchas and Asuras are to be always sixteen *tâlas* in height.

180-182. Hiraṇyakaśipu, Vṛitra, Hiraṇyâkṣa, Râvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Namuchi, Niśumbha, Śumbha, Mahiṣâsura, Raktavîja—these are to be sixteen *tâlas* in height.

[1]183. The *vâlas* are to be five *tâlas*, and the *kumâras* six *tâlas*.

[2]184-185. Images are of ten *tâlas* in *Satyayuga*, of nine *tâlas* in *Tretâ*, eight *tâlas* in *Dwâpara*, and seven *tâlas* in *Kali*.

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[1] बाल—Boy under five years of age. कुमार—an infant. The terms are however used as synonyms.

[2] अङ्गुल, = ¼ मुष्टि

12 अङ्गुल, = 1 ताल

The following are the measurements in *tálas* described in the above lines :—

A. *Ordinary.*

(1) वामन ... ... 7 *Tálas*
(2) मानुष ... ... 8 „
(3) देव ... ... 9 „
(4) राक्षस ... ... 10 „
(5) स्त्री ... ... 7 „
(6) कुमार ... ... 6 „
(7) बाल ... ... 5 „

B. *Special.*

(1) नर नारायण ... ... 10 „
(2) चण्डी ... ... 12 „
(3) भैरव हिरण्यकशिपु, बल ... ... 16 „

C. According to the ages.

(1) सत्य ... ... 10 „
(2) त्रेता ... ... 9 „
(3) द्वापर ... ... 8 „
(4) कलि ... ... 7 „

186-187. If the image be nine *tâlas*, the mouth must be one *tâla*, the forehead four *aṅgulas*, the nose likewise.

188-189. The space from the tip of the nose to the end of the *hanu* (jaw) is to be four *aṅgulas*. The throat is to be four *aṅgulas*. The space from throat to heart is to be one *tâla*.

190-191. Thence downward to the navel the space is beautiful if one *tâla*. From the navel downwards to the genital organ there should be one *tâla*.

192-193. The two thighs are to be two *tâlas* each, the knees to be four *aṅgulas* each. The two legs are to be made equal to the thighs. The bottom of the ankle is to be four *aṅgulas*.

[1]194. The vertical measurements of an image of nine *tâlas* are thus given by the sages.

195 The image of seven, eight or ten *tâlas* should be divided according to the above proportion.

[2]197. The two hands are to be four *tâlas* each up to the ends of the fingers.

198. From the neck to the elbow the space is good if twenty *aṅgulas*.

[3]199. From the armpit to the elbow the distance is thirteen *aṅgulas*.

200 The *kara* or arm up to the end of the middle finger is twenty-eight *aṅgulas*.

201. The palm is seven *aṅgulas* : the middle finger is five *aṅgulas*.

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[1] The measurements of the image of 9 *tâlas* described above are given below :—

मुख	...	... 1 *Tâla*
ललाट ...	4 *Aṅgulas.* }	
नासा ...	4 ,, }	
नासा हनु ...	4 ,, }	
ग्रीवा ...	...	... 4 *Aṅgulas.*
ग्रीवा to हृदय	...	... 1 *tâla.*
हृदय to नाभि	...	... 1 ,,
नाभि to मेढ्र	...	... 1 ,,
ऊरु ...	...	... 2 *tâlas.*
जानु ...	...	... 4 *aṅgulas.*
जङ्घा ...	...	... 2 *tâlas.*
गुल्फ ...	...	... 4 *aṅgulas.*
	Total	108 *aṅgulas* or 9 *tâlas.*

[2] Of course this is to be the measure of the hands in the case of the nine-*tâlas*-type.

[3] कूर्पर—Elbow, कक्ष—armpit. So the distance from the armpit to the neck is seven *aṅgulas*.

202-203. The thumb is to be three *aṅgulas* and a half, should come up to the first joint of the forefinger and should have two joints. The other fingers are each to have three joints.

204. The *anâmâ* or ring-finger and the *tarjjanî* or forefinger are to be less by half an *aṅgula* or a full *aṅgula* (than the middle).

205. The little finger is less than the ring-finger by one *aṅgula.*

206-207. The feet are to be fourteen *aṅgulas* each, the thumb is two *aṅgulas* or two *aṅgulas* and a half. The *pradeśini* or that finger of the foot by which something is pointed out is of that size.

208. The *pradeśini* may be two *aṅgulas*, the others are one *aṅgula* and a half each.

[1] 209. The hands and legs must have veins suppressed and the ankles must be hidden.

[2] 210-212. Those limbs are beautiful which are neither more nor less in measurement than the limbs of images prepared by the experts. And those which are to please all must not be either too thin or thick.

213. It is one in a lakh that is produced beautiful in all limbs.

214. That which is beautiful according to the measurements laid down in the Śâstras is really beautiful, not any other.

215. That which is not according to the measurements laid down in the Śâstras is not beautiful, say the wise.

[3] 216. That which satisfies the heart of certain individuals is beautiful to those individuals only.

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[1] The hands and legs must not be disfigured by prominent veins and arteries. The ankles also must not be protuberant or prominent.

[2] Measurements of other limbs of the image of nine *tálas* :—

(1) बाहु	4 *tálas.*
स्कन्ध to कूर्पर	... 20 *aṅgulas.*
कक्ष to कूर्पर	... 13 ,,
कर	... 28 ,,
(2) करतल	... 7 *aṅgulas.*
(3) मध्यम	... 5 ,,
(4) तर्ज्जनि	... 4 ,,
(5) अङ्गुष्ठ	... $3\frac{1}{2}$,,
(6) अनामा	... $4\frac{1}{2}$,,
(7) कनिष्ठ	... $3\frac{1}{2}$,,
(8) पाद	... 14 ,,
(9) अङ्गुष्ठ	... 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$,,
(10) प्रदेशिनी	... 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$,,
(11) Other fingers of the foot	... 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$,,

[3] Individuals may be satisfied with certain images according to their idiosyncrasies and peculiar tastes and predilections.

Having described the proportions of the erect posture ऊर्द्ध्वमान Śukrâchârya is going to describe the horizontal measurement of each limb.

217. The forehead is to be eight *aṅgulas*, the two eyebrows are to be likewise.

218. The eyebrows are to be half *aṅgula* in width and must be bow-like in the middle.

[1]219. The two eyes are to be three *aṅgulas* in length and two *aṅgulas* in width.

220. The pupil is to be one-third of the eye and black in colour.

221. The space between the two eyebrows is two *aṅgulas*. The origin of the nose is one *aṅgula*.

222. The tip of the nose is to be one *aṅgula*. And the two nostrils together to be two *aṅgulas*.

[2]223. The nose may be of two kinds—having the shape of the bird's mouth (aquiline or curved) or like the flower (straight).

224. The two nostrils are to be beautiful like the *niṣpâpa* legume.

225. The ears are equal to the eyebrows and four *aṅgulas* long.

226. The fleshy portion of the ears is to be three *aṅgulas* and a half thick.

227. The nose-bone is to be half an *aṅgula* (wide and broad), smooth, and high by one and a half *aṅgula*.

228. From the end of the neck to the end of the throat the space is eight *aṅgulas*.

229. The space between the two hands is to be two *tâlas*. The space between the two nipples is to be one *tâla*.

230. The space between the two ears is to be sixteen *aṅgulas*.

231. The space between the ear and the jaw is always eight *aṅgulas*.

232. The space between the nose and the ear is likewise. The space between the ear and the eye is half that, *i.e.*, four *aṅgulas*.

233. The mouth is one-third of a *tâla*, the lips are to be half an *aṅgula* each.

234-235. The circumference of the head is thirty-two *aṅgulas*. Its width is ten *aṅgulas*, length twelve *aṅgulas*.

236. The circumference of the throat is twenty-two *aṅgulas*.

237. The circumference of the breast is fifty-four *aṅgulas*.

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[1] आयाम—Length.

[2] पुष्पवत्—Having the shape of the तिलपुष्प which is very straight.

238. The circumference of the heart is one *aṅgula* less than four *tâlas* (*i.e.*, forty-seven *aṅgulas*).

239. The space between the nipple and the back (or the thickness of the breast) is twelve *aṅgulas*.

240. The circumference of the waist is two *aṅgulas* in addition to three *tâlas* and a half (*i.e.*, forty-four *aṅgulas*).

241. The height of the hip is to be four *aṅgulas* and the width six *aṅgulas*.

242. At the back the posterior of females is one *aṅgula* greater.

243. The circumference of the forepart of the hand is sixteen *aṅgulas*, that of the origin of the hand is eighteen *aṅgulas*.

[1]244. The circumference of the origin of the arm is fourteen *aṅgulas*, that of the forepart of the arm is ten *aṅgulas*.

245. The width of the palms of the hands and feet is five *aṅgulas*.

246-247. The circumference of the origin of the thigh is thirty-two *aṅgulas*, that of the end or forepart of the thigh is nineteen *aṅgulas*.

248. The circumference of the origin of the legs is sixteen *aṅgulas*, that of the end of the legs is twelve *aṅgulas*.

249-251. The circumference of the root of the middle finger is four *aṅgulas*, that of the roots of the forefinger and ring-finger is three *aṅgulas* and a half each. That of the little finger at the root is three *aṅgulas*.

252. The circumference of the end or forepart (of each finger) is a quarter less than that of the root.

253. The circumference of the thumb of hand is four *aṅgulas*, that of the thumb of the leg is five *aṅgulas*.

254. The circumference of the other fingers of the feet is three *aṅgulas*.

255. The circular ring of the breast is an *aṅgula* and a half, that of the navel one *aṅgula*.

256. One should design for all the limbs a grace that is suited to each.

257-258. One should not construct any image that has eyes directed upwards, downwards or closed, nor should design one that has vehement eyes, but eyes bespeaking satisfaction.

[1] So the whole hand is to be conical—the origin 18 *aṅgulas* in width and the end 10 *aṅgulas*.

[1]259. The seat or stand on which the image is to be placed is to be one-third or one-half of itself.

260. The doors of the room are to be twice, thrice or four times the image.

261. The floor of the temple is to be one, two, three or four cubits high.

262. The height of the wall from the floor is to be ten cubits greater than the height of the floor.

263. The height of the palace is to be double that of the doors.

264. The dome is to be equal to, twice or thrice, the height of the whole building.

265-266. The building should be constructed with stories up to one hundred and twenty-fifth and with eight corners like a lotus.

267. The building must be a *chatussâla* and have halls all round it.

268. That with one thousand pillars is good, others are middling or inferior.

269-270. If there is to be a dome over the palace or the hall pillars need not be constructed, the walls are sufficient.

271-272. The space inside the palace (temple) around the image or in front of it is to be six or eight times that (image).

273. The vehicle is to be equal to, one and a half time or twice the image.

274. Where the forms of gods are not mentioned they are to have four hands.

[2]275-278. Where there is no mention of weapons, the lower hands are to indicate courage and blessings, and the upper hands should have

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[1] All these regulations have been framed according to the standard of æsthetic perfection prevalent in those times. Even a superficial study of these canons of Hindu art is sufficient to convince people of their love of exactness, accuracy and mathematical rigidity in the management of secular affairs. Connoisseurs of art would do well to take note of these rules laid down by Śukrâchârya.

[2] खड्ग, चक्र—For Viṣṇu.

पाश—For Varuṇa.

माला—For Sun.

डमरुशूल—For Śiva.

मातुलुङ्ग—For Lakṣmî.

वीणा, पुस्तक —For Saraswatî.

लड्डुक—For Gaṇeśa.

śaṅkha (conch), *chakra* (wheel), *aṅkuśa* hook), *pâśa* (noose). *damaru* (horn), *śûla* (trident), *kamala* (lotus), *kalasa* (pitcher), *sru* (vessel used in sacrifice), *lâdduka* (sweet balls), *matuluṅgaka* (fruit), *vîṇâ* (lyre), *mâlâ* (garland), or book.

279. Where there is a multiplicity of mouths or heads these should be set up in a row.

280. Each should have its own throat, crown, eyes and ears.

[1]281-3. Where there is a multiplicity of hands, the necks need not be separated. The portion above elbows should be slender ; flat nose should be [represented] massive. Shoulders should be in deportment as trunks.

284. The mouths of Brahmâ are to be placed in four directions (*i.e.*, not in a row).

285-286. Hayagrîva, Varâha, Nṛisiṃha, Gaṇeśa are to be like men except in mouths, and Nṛisiṃha except in nails.

287-288. The images of the worshipped gods are to be made according to the above marks whether sitting on the vehicles or on their seats.

289-291. The images should always be without beards and eyelids and of sixteen years of age, have beautiful ornaments and clothes and be painted with brightest colours, covered up to the feet by clothes and adorned with ornaments.

[2]292-293. The images are not to be constructed with limbs less or greater than the fixed proportion. That with less limbs injures the householder, and that with more, the artist.

[3]294-295. The too thin image causes perpetual famines and the too thick one causes constant diseases. That with hidden joints, bones and veins ever increases happiness.

296. The *sâttvika* form of Viṣṇu's image is to have hands with blessings, courage, conch and lotus.

297. The *sâttvika* form of Soma's image is to have hands with deer, musical instrument, courage and blessings.

[1] All the hands must issue from the same neck.

[2] The *sanction* for the observance of the canons of art cannot be stricter than what is given here.

[3] The last two lines provide the religious or spiritual *sanction* to the rules of art. Here we get the social and economic.

298. The *sâttvika* form of the image of the god whose mouth is like that of the elephant is to have hands with blessings, courage, lotus and *lâdduka* (sweet balls).

299. The *sâttvika* form of the Sun's image is to have hands with lotus, garland, courage and blessings.

300. The *sâttvika* form of Śrî (Laksmi)'s image is to have hands with *Vînâ*, *Luṅga* (fruit), courage and blessings.

[1]301-302. The images of Viṣṇu and other gods may have six separate forms through conch, wheel, mace, *padma* and other weapons.

303-304. The differences can be distinguished by noticing the *upâdhis* (names) as well as the union and separation of limbs.

[2]305-306. If there be an absence of one or two marks in the images made by painting, drawing, or of sands, earth and pastes, there is no offence.

[3]307-308. So also defects of measurement are not to be noticed in the following images—those made of natural Vâṇaliṅgas (stones of the Nerbudda Valley) or Chandrakântas or of gems found in the Gaṇḍaka river.

[4]309. One should consider the defects of proportion in the images of stones and metals only.

310-311. The artist should construct images with white, yellow, red, and black stones according to the ages and with others according to one's option.

[5]312-313. The white colour is of *sâttvika* type, the yellow and red of the *râjasika*, *tâmasika* type is of black colour—if the other marks described above are attendant.

314. Images are to be of gold, silver, copper and bronze in the *Satya*, *Tretâ*, *Dwâpara* and *Kali yugas* respectively.

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[1] Every *sâttvika* form may have two types—one described in lines 226-300, and the other with weapons in each hand in the place of courage and blessings. The *râjasika* and *tâmasika* forms also have two types each. So each image may have six possible forms.

[2] The temporary images need not be executed with particular care, it seems.

[3] Like the temporary images, these natural stone images also are to be leniently examined

The rivers Nerbudda and Gaṇḍaka are mentioned as being sources of stones and gems used in the sculptor's art.

[4] Those which are to be durable and which require human skill for the execution require to be tested very minutely and must satisfy the conditions of good art as elaborated above.

[5] Having described the *stones* to be used according to the *Yugas*, Śukrâchâryya now fixes the *metals* for each.

315-316. Śaṅkara's image is to be of white colour, Viṣṇu's to be black, that of the Sun, Śakti (Pârvatî or Śaṅkara's wife) and Gaṇeśa to be copper-coloured (red).

317. The images may be of iron or lead according to one's purposes—say the sages.

318-319. For purposes of worship, whether temporary or permanent, the images should be constructed according to the marks fixed for palaces, &c., not others (without the proper marks) which are the destroyers of happiness.

[1]320. The marks of images are known from the relations between the adorer and the adored.

[2]321-323. Through the strength of the virtues of the worshipper who has his heart always fixed on God the defects of images go for nothing in a moment. The particular vehicle of a deity should be placed in front of the canopy before him.

324-326. Garuḍa has two hands, beautiful eyes, bills and wings, human form, the mouth like bills, a crown, and a bracelet with a charm, has his palms closed (in devotion), head bent low, and eyes fixed towards the lotus feet of the adored.

327. The birds that have become vehicles of gods can assume any forms they like So also the lion, the bull and other animals.

328. The *vâhana* or vehicle should be placed in the hall before the image.

329-330. These are always to be made according to their names and forms, well adorned and in meditative posture in the hall before the god.

331-334. The tiger has the form of a cat, yellow colour, black marks (stripes), huge physique and no manes. The lion has a thin waist, large eyebrows, big eyes, a young appearance, manes, grey colour and black marks.

335. The difference between the lion and the tiger is only in manes and marks, not in appearance.

336-339. Gaṇeśa is to have an elephant's face, man's form, long ears, big belly, thick but very short neck, thick legs, thick hands, long trunk,

[1] The character of the image may be known from the attitude of the worshipper and the purposes of his worship.

[2] Even if the image be ill executed the worshipper by his virtues and devotion can make up for the deficiencies.

left tooth (tusk) suppressed, his own vehicle, and the trunk bent towards the left like a slightly curved rod.

340. The image is to be made with joints, bones and veins hidden and according to the proper measurements.

341-342. The trunk is to be four *tâlas* and a half. The head is to be ten *aṅgulas*, the eyebrows four *aṅgulas*.

343. The nose is the upper lip. The end of the trunk is to have a *puṣkara*.

344. The length of the ear is ten *aṅgulas* and the width eight *aṅgulas*.

345. The space between the two ears is two *aṅgulas* in addition to one *tâla*.

346. The circumference of the head is thirty-six *aṅgulas*.

347. The circumference of the head round the eyes is also thirty-six *aṅgulas*.

348. The circumference round the bottom of the eyes at the origin of the trunks is two *aṅgulas* in addition to two *tâlas* (twenty-six *aṅgulas*).

349. The circumference of the end of the trunk and of the *puṣkara* is ten *aṅgulas*.

350. The length of the throat is three *aṅgulas*, its circumference is thirty *aṅgulas*.

351. The circumference of the belly is four *tâlas*.

352. The length of the belly should be made six or eight *aṅgulas* by the artists.

353. The tusk is six *aṅgulas* in length, the circumference of its origin is also that.

354. The lower lip is six *aṅgulas*. The *puṣkara* is to have a lotus.

355-356. The circumference of the origin of the thigh is thirty-six *aṅgulas*. That of the end of the thigh is twenty-three *aṅgulas*.

357. The circumference of the origin of the legs is twenty *aṅgulas*.

358. The circumference of the origin of the hand is greater than that of the end by one or two *aṅgulas*.

359. The space between the eye and the ear is four *aṅgulas*.

360-361. The space between the ends of the eyes, centres of the eyes and the origins of the eyes is ten, seven and six *aṅgulas*, respectively. This is the opinion of experts with regard to Gaṇeśa's image.

362. The height and thickness of the breasts of women is five *aṅgulas.*

363. The circumference of the waist of women is two *aṅgulas* in addition to three *tâlas.*

364. The limbs of the female have all to be made up in seven *tâlas.*

365. In the image of seven *tâlas* the face is to be twelve *aṅgulas.*

366. The height of *vâlas* (or infants) varies.

367. The neck of the *śiśu* (very young child) is short and the head thick.

[1]368. The head does not grow in the same proportion as the limbs below the neck.

369. The whole body below the neck is to be four times and a half of the face.

370-371. The body from below the neck to the *śiśna* (genital organ) is to be twice the face. From the *sakthi* (or thighs) to the end the space is two times the face. The hands are two times and a half of the face.

372. There is no rule about the thickness but it should be made according as it looks beautiful.

373. The child begins to grow daily and very fast after the fifth year.

[2]374. The female has all the parts of her body fully developed in her sixteenth year, the male in the twentieth.

375. Then each deserves the full measurements of the seven-*tâla*-type.

376. Somebody acquires beauty even in childhood, others in young or old age.

377. The length of the throat below the face is three *aṅgulas.* The heart is nine *aṅgulas.*

378. The belly and abdomen (*vasti*) each is eighteen *aṅgulas.*

379. The knees are to be three *aṅgulas* each, the legs eighteen *aṅgulas* each.

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[1] **The limbs below the neck develop in size with years, not the head. Hence the head must be thick from the beginning.**

[2] **Here are the ideas about growth, development, puberty, &c., of human beings that prevailed in Śukra's times.**

[1]380. The space from the ankle to the end is to be three *aṅgulas* in the image of seven *tâlas*.

381. The throat is to be of *aṅgulas* of the number of Vedas (four), the breast ten *aṅgulas*.

382. The belly is to be ten *aṅgulas*, the abdomen ten *aṅgulas*.

383. The thigh is to be twenty-one *aṅgulas*, the knees four *aṅgulas*.

384. The legs to be twenty-one *aṅgulas*. From the ankle to the end the space is four *aṅgulas*.

[2]385. This is the proportion of limbs in an image of eight *tâlas*.

386-387. The face as well as the breast are thirteen *añgulas* each. The belly as well as the abdomen are ten *aṅgulas* each.

388. The end from the ankle as well as the throat are five *aṅgulas* each.

389. The thighs as well as the legs are twenty-six *aṅgulas* each.

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[1] The measurements of the seven-*tâla*-type :—

(1)	मुख	 12	*Aṅgulas.*
(2)	ग्रीवा	 8	"
(3)	हृदय	 9	"
(4)	उदर	 9	"
(5)	वस्ति	 9	"
(6)	सक्थि	 18	"
(7)	जानु	 8	"
(8)	जङ्घा	 18	"
(9)	गुल्फाधः	 3	"
	Total	84	"

[2] The measurements of the eight-*tâla*-type :—

(1)	मुख	 12	*Aṅgulas.*
(2)	ग्रीवा	 4	"
(3)	हृदय	 10	"
(4)	उदर	 10	"
(5)	वस्ति	 10	"
(6)	सक्थि	 21	"
(7)	जानु	 4	"
(8)	जङ्घा	 21	"
(9)	गुल्फ	 4	"
	Total	96	"

[1]390. In an image of ten *tâlas* there should be a *maṇi* at the head, measuring one *aṅgula*.

391. In an image of ten *tâlas* the hands are to be fifteen *aṅgulas*.

[2]392. In the images of less height (*i.e.*, eight or seven *tâlas*) they are to be less by two *aṅgulas* in each case.

393. Grace should be given to each image according to fitness.

395. In the image of ten *tâlas* the feet are to be fifteen *aṅgulas*.

[3]396-397. In the images of greater height the skilled artist should give one *aṅgula* more to the face and other limbs per total increase of one *tâla*.

398-99. The images of Asuras, Piśâchas and Râkṣasas are to have long thighs and legs, to be ferocious, cruel and vehement or sometimes very lean and thin.

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[1] **Measurements of the ten-*tâla*-type :—**

(1) मुख	... ...	13 *Aṅgulas.*
(2) ग्रीवा	... ...	5 „
(3) हृदय	... ...	13 „
(4) उदर	... .	13 „
(5) वस्ति		
(6) सक्थि	... ...	13 „
(7) जानु	... ...	26 „
(8) जङ्घा	... ...	5 „
(9) गुल्फ	... ...	26 „
(10) मणि	... ...	5 „
	... ...	1 „
	Total	120 „

[2] **Thus in the image of nine *tâlas*, hands ... ... 13 *aṅgulas*.**
„ „ „ „ 8 „ ... ... 11 „
„ „ „ „ 7 „ ... ... 9 „

[3] **This is expressed by the following table :—**

	Eleven-*tâla*-type.	Twelve-*tâla*-type.	Thirteen-*tâla*-type.
(1) मुख ...	14	15	16
(2) ग्रीवा ...	6	7	8
(3) हृदय ...	14	15	16
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.

But the total heights in these cases do not amount to 11 *tâlas*, 12 *tâlas*, &c.

The lines, therefore, do not give the measurements of the whole image of 11, 12, or 13 *tâlas*, but only that of the पाद or foot. That is, the foot is to be lengthened by one *aṅgula* if the image be lengthened by 1 *tâla*.

[1]400. In the images of less height the feet are to be less by one *aṅgula*.

[2]401-2. In all measurements the middle finger is not to be less than five *aṅgulas* or greater than six.

403-4. The artist should always design the appearance of the young, very rarely that of the infant, but never that of the old.

405-6. The king should always set up such gods in the kingdom, and should every year perform festivals in their honour.

407. He should never keep in the temple images broken or made according to false measurements.

[3]408. He should also repair carefully the gods and temples.

[4]409-10. He should always worship the gods and see the entertainments in their honour but never apply his mind to self-enjoyment.

[5]411-12. The king should also celebrate the festivals that are observed by the people, and should enjoy happiness when they are happy and be aggrieved when they are in grief.

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[1] The line 400 is to be taken with l. 395. They give the measurements of the feet of images of ten *tâlas* and less then ten *tâlas*.

L. 396 also gives the measurements of the foot पाद् in the case of images of greater height, though the construction seems to point to not only the measurements of the foot but also other limbs of images of greater height.

The idea is that if the image be shortened by one *tâla*, the foot will be shortened by one *aṅgula*; and if the image be lengthened by one *tâla*, the foot will be lengthened by one *aṅgula*.

[2] For the images of seven, eight, nine, or any number of *tâlas* the length of the middle finger is fixed between five and six *aṅgulas*.

[3] The king should always be on the watch for the repair of old temples, palaces and images.

[4] Amusements and entertainments on the occasions of the festivals are consecrated to the gods—should not be regarded as means of self-enjoyment.

Here is the very *spirit* of Hindu Sociology which makes every thing human an offering to the gods and the whole life a perpetual consecration to their service.

[5] The festivals are not all to be of a religious nature. The king should sympathise and take part in the folksongs and popular festivals also.

SECTION V.

THE KING'S FUNCTIONS.

[1]1. The king should punish the wicked by administering justice.

2. The subjects who are made to observe his orders are always under his authority.

3. The wicked man is the destroyer of good, an enemy of the State and the propagator of vices.

4. The furtherance of the good of the people and their protection are necessary.

5. The destruction of enemies means the prevention of them from committing injuries.

6. The punishment of the wicked means the prevention of wicked actions by them.

7-8. *Vyavahâra* or judicial proceeding is that which, by discriminating the good from the evil, ministers to the virtues of both the people and the king and furthers their interests.

9-11. The king should attentively look after lawsuits (*vyavahâras*) by freeing himself from anger and greed according to the dictates of Dharma Śâstras,—in the company of the Chief Justice, *Amâtya*, Brâhmaṇa and Priest.

12-13. He should never singly try the cases of two parties or hear their statements. Neither the wise king nor the councillors are ever to try in secret.

14-15. The causes of partiality and imputation are five in number:—passion, cupidity, fear, malice and secret information from the parties.

16-17. The king who does not perform his civic duties well has undoubtedly to rot in the hell.

18-19 The enemies soon overpower the king who through delusion and passion decides cases against the dictates of Śâstras.

[2]20-21. The actions of kings without help (of councillors) lead to hell and destruction, take away the fear of the enemy's army and ruin life and wealth.

22. So the king should decide cases according to the Śâstras.

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[1] **The Section deals principally with laws and administration of justice.**

[2] **[illegible] Army. [illegible] Grains, wealth.**

23-26. Where the king cannot personally attend to administration of justice he should appoint Brâhmaṇas who are versed in Vedas, self-controlled, high-born, impartial, unagitated and calm, and who fear next life, are religious-minded, active and devoid of anger.

27-28. If the Brâhmaṇa be not learned enough, the king should appoint a Kṣatriya (for the purpose), or a Vaiśya who is versed in Dharma Śâstras, but reject the Śûdra.

[1]29-30. The king should always appoint men of the caste to which he himself belongs, for most members of the royal caste are likely to be well-qualified.

31-32. The justices are to be conversant with actions, character and attributes of people, impartial to both enemies and friends, to know the duties of men and are to be truthful.

[2]33-34. Those who are not idle, who are masters over anger, passions and greed, and who speak gentle are to be appointed to offices by the king from all castes.

[3]35-36. The cultivators, the artisans, the artists, the usurers, corporations, the dancers, the ascetics and thieves should decide their disputes according to the usage of their guild, &c.

[4]37. It is impossible to detect them through others' help. So they are to be found out with the help of persons born of (*i.e.*, connected with) them.

38-39. The king, who desires his own welfare, should refrain from giving any decisive opinion in a dispute among Brâhmaṇas regarding the interpretation of a procedure of sacrificial ritual.

40. The king should have the cases of the ascetics investigated by the *traividyas* or those who are versed in the Vedas.

41. He should not himself decide the cases of those who practise the occult arts, through fear of exciting their anger.

42-43. The king should not offer advice to those who are versed in all branches of learning, those who are of superior caste and character and to the preceptors, masters and ascetics.

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[1] In ll. 23-32 the qualifications of men who are to study the cases and help the king in the administration of justice have been described. They are generally to be learned Brâhmaṇas, but if Brâhmaṇas are not available, may be chosen from any caste except Śûdras, especially from the royal caste.

[2] Ordinary officers may be chosen from any caste.

[3] कीनाश—Cultivators, श्रेणि—Corporations, guilds, company of traders or those dealing in some articles.

[4] Laymen cannot detect the character of those persons. So investigation regarding such persons should be carried on through members of those professions.

[1]44-45. The foresters are to be tried with the help of foresters, merchants by merchants, soldiers by soldiers, and in the village (affairs are to be administered) by persons who live with both parties (*i.e.*, neighbours).

[2]46-47. Those persons are the best judges of the merits of the case who live in the places where the two parties stand and where the disputed matters and grounds of quarrel exist.

48-49. The king should, however, appoint officers who are virtuous, well-tried and capable of bearing the burden of the administration of justice like bulls.

50-51. The assembly in which there are seven, five or even three Brâhmaṇas versed in human affairs, the Vedas and Dharma Śâstras is (august and solemn) like one on the occasions of sacrifices.

[3]52. The merchants who are judicious should be made hearers there.

[4]53. The man who knows the Dharma can speak whether appointed or unappointed.

54. He speaks the voice of God who knows the Śâstra.

[5]55-56. Either one should not come to the council (Court) or should speak truthfully. That man is a sinner who keeps silence or utters falsehood.

57-58. Those families, corporations or associations which are known intimately to the king should investigate other cases excepting robbery and theft.

[6]59-60. The *Śreṇis* (corporations) will try cases not tried by the *Kulas* (families), the *Gaṇas* (communities) will try the cases left by the *Śreṇis*, and the officers will try the cases not decided by the *Gaṇas*.

61-62. The councillors are superior to the *kulas*, and the *adhyakṣa* or chief officer in charge of justice is superior to the councillors. And the king is higher than all—the dictator of what should be done and what not.

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[1] Here is something like a trial by peers.

[2] This is the principle of local judges for local cases.

[3] Something like a jury of merchants is implied.

[4] Even outsiders who know the law can give their opinions on the cases in dispute.

[5] Outsiders are allowed the full liberty of attending courts of justice and giving their own opinions on the affairs in dispute. Besides, there is the regularly constituted jury of merchants. This account of the administration of justice anticipates the modern practice in some very important points.

[6] The कुल, the श्रेणी and the गण are the three successively higher organisations of self-adjudication. When and where these three fail the king with his officers is to interfere.

[1]63-64. Superior intelligence grows gradually through the investigation of cases of low, average and high importance.

[2]65-66. The man who has studied only one Śâstra cannot investigate a case properly. So in all cases the king should appoint men who know good many Śâstras.

67. What only one man says can even be the law if he is spiritually minded.

68-69. The cases have to be tried by the king separately with men of various grades of intelligence once, twice, thrice or four times.

70-71. The man who can satisfy the plaintiff and defendant, the councillors, the clerk and the audience by his good methods of work should be an assistant.

72-73. The ten requisites in the administration of justice are the king, officers, councillors, *Smṛiti Śâstras*, accountant, clerk, gold, fire, water and one's own men.

74-75. That court is like a heaven in which the king notices these ten requisites and studies the cases.

76. The functions of these ten are being mentioned separately.

77. The *Adhyakṣa* is the speaker, the king is the president, the councillors are the investigators.

78. *Smṛiti* tells of the rules about recital of *mantras*, penance and gifts, &c.

79. Gold and fire are intended for the swearing of oaths, and water for the thirsty and the nervous.

80. The accountant is to count the money. The clerk is to write properly.

81-82. The accountant and the clerk are to be versed in lexicon and the significance of words, well up in accounts, honest, and trained in the use of various alphabets.

[3]83-84. A court of justice is that place where the study of the

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[1] The lowest officers and organisations have to try the most insignificant cases and their intelligence, therefore, is of an inferior grade. Those that are higher in the judicial scale have to display a higher grade of skill in order to be able to cope with the higher responsibilities entrusted to them. So there is a regular grade or hierarchy of intelligent beings.

[2] Human and social affairs being very complex cannot be investigated by a single science. The Judges should, therefore, be masters of many arts and sciences in order to discharge their duties satisfactorily.

[3] अर्थशास्त्र are the sciences of the secular interests of man. The place which investigates these interests according to the धर्म्मशास्त्र is the धर्म्माधिकरण.

social, economic and political interests of man takes place according to the dictates of Dharma Śâstras.

85-86. The king should enter the court modestly together with the Brâhmaṇas and the ministers who know state-craft, with the object of investigating the cases.

87. He should proceed with the work after taking the seat of justice.

88. He should put questions to the parties by being equal to both.

[1]89-91. The king should perform his duty by carefully studying the customs that are followed in countries and that are mentioned in the Śâstras, as well as those that are practised by castes, villages, corporations, and families.

[2]92-93. Those customs that have been introduced in the country, caste or race should be maintained in the same condition, for otherwise the people get agitated.

94. In the southern countries maternal uncles' daughters are married by Brâhmaṇas.

95-96. In Madhyadeśa the artisans and artists are beef-eaters, men are all flesh-eaters, women are addicted to intercourse with others than their own husbands.

97. In the North the women drink wine and are touchable when they are menstruated.

98. People of Khasa country marry the widows of their brothers.

[3]99. These people do not deserve penance and punishment because of these actions.

[1] In deciding upon a case and performing his स्वधर्म, *viz.*, the administration of justice, the king should be very circumspect. He should carefully find out the customs that are local, temporal, social, domestic, national, etc. For धर्म differs not only with time and place but also with जाति, श्रेणी and कुल.

[2] Śukrâchâryya always advocates the maintenance and preservation of the customs of the folk—a very sound maxim for winning the heart of the people. He is thus not a supporter of the theory of absolute virtues and vices. According to him diametrically opposite practices may be both good if they are customarily followed by certain sections of the community. What is praiseworthy in one locality may be condemnable in another. But the king must be a respecter of the laws of nations, and should not abolish the vestiges of past life or national characteristics in the mania for introducing uniformity.

[3] In ll. 94—8 a few customs are narrated. These are absolutely local and racial, says Śukrâchâryya. They are practised as virtues or, at any rate, not inconsistent with a strictly moral and civilised life according to the ideas obtaining there, though they may be despised in other parts of the same country and by other races. Thus what people in one part of the country would regard as absolute unchastity, thorough depravity and most heinous social crime or objectionable domestic practice, peoples in other parts follow as though quite social and moral.

[1]100-101. Those whose customs have been received by traditions and were practised by their ancestors are not to be condemned for following those customs, not others.

102-105. In Kali Yuga the king should repress those by severe punishments who are covetous of others' wives and wealth, who are proud of their little learning, and little fortune, habituated to the rites and practices of Tantras, and apathetic to the Vedas.

[2]106. The king should administer Nyâya in the noon and Smṛiti in the morning.

[3]107-108. But for cases of murder, thieving, robbery and felonies there is no fixed time. These should be adjudicated at once.

109 111. Seeing the king seated on the throne together with his ministers, the plaintiff should go to him after carefully considering or writing out what he has to inform him or what has been injured by somebody.

112. He should bend low and submit his petition by folding his hands in submission.

113-114. The king with the ministers after receiving him duly should first console and appease him and then commence the trial (discharge his duty).

115-117. He should then inquire of the plaintiff standing before him submissively 'What is your business? What is your grief? Don't be afraid. By which ruffian, when and under what circumstances have you been oppressed?'

118. Having thus interrogated him the king should hear what he says.

119. The clerk should write down his statements in the character and language which are prevalent.

120-121. The clerk who writes anything different from what is said by the plaintiff and the defendant should be chastised by the king boldly as a thief.

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[1] Having described certain local usages Śukrâchâryya is referring to some long-standing customs. If certain usages have been handed down from generations and are practised among certain peoples by tradition they are not to be held as offenders. But other persons who have not those traditions are to be punished if found practising them.

[2] Morning is the time for adjudicating cases which involve application of the socio-religious regulations laid down in the Smṛitis and daytime is fixed for cases which involve the breach of laws made by the king, etc.

[3] Serious cases to be tried immediately.

122. The councillors should not speak or accept what has been thus (wrongly) written.

123. The king should punish like thieves those persons who extort written statements from anybody.

124. In the absence of the king the chief justice should put these questions.

125-126. The *Prâḍvivâka* is so called because he asks questions (and is therefore *Prât*) and analyses cases, judges disputes or states what should be done and what not (and is therefore *Vivâka*).

127. Those who are good for councils are councillors.

[1]128-129. If oppressed by enemies with means transgressing the law and the established usage, a person complains to the king, it will form the subject-matter of law-suit.

[2]130. The king should never himself fabricate a false case, nor even his officers.

[3]131-132. The king should not through passions, greed, anger or his own information try cases that have not been presented for judgment.

133-134. But he should even without any complaint take up for adjudication cases of *chhalas* (misdemeanour), *aparâdhas*, felonies and cases in which the king himself is a party, on hearing of these through *Suchakas, Flatterers,* and *Stobhakas.*

135-136. A *Stobhaka* is he who not appointed by the king, gives first information of a crime, for the sake of money,—a conduct censured by the Śâstras.

138-139. The *Suchaka* is he who has been appointed by the king to know of others' offences and after knowing them informs the king.

[4]140-141. Destroyers of roads, slanderers, those who jump across one's walls, destroyers of water-reservoirs and of houses,

142-143. Those who fill up the ditches, publishers of king's imperfections, trespassers into inner apartments, trespassers into bedrooms,

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[1] If somebody is injured by others through measures antagonistic to Smriti and Âchâra, and if he applies to the king for redress there is a complaint or व्यवहार formed.

[2] The Government is to take no cognisance of affairs unless presented by the interested parties.

[3] The king is not to take the initiative in these matters. He should try only those cases (अर्थे) that are brought before him for adjudication.

[4] निपान—Water reservoir. The enumeration of the छल, अपराध, which the king is himself to bring up for adjudication, like that of the arts and sciences, also gives a socio-economic picture of the ancient times.

trespassers into store-rooms, trespassers into the kitchen, those who stand by dinners without appointment,

[1]145-146. Those who spit or commit nuisance or pass wind before the king intentionally, those who sit in heroic postures before the king, those who sit in the front of the king,

147-148. Those who dress themselves better than the king, those who approach the king impatiently and in an unmannerly way, those who enter by backdoors, those who come at the wrong hour,

149-150. Those who sleep in royal beds, those who use royal seats, those who use king's shoes, those who sleep before the king, those who sit before the king, those who climb before the king, those who sit before the king lying on the bed,

151-152. Those who serve the king's enemies, those who sit without seats offered by the king, those who use others' dress, ornaments and gold, &c.

153-154. Those who take betel of themselves and begin to chew it, those who talk or speak without permission, those who insult or defame the king,

155-156. Those who appear before the king with only one cloth, those who come when rubbing oil, or with dishevelled hair, who come shamelessly, or with painted bodies or with garlands on or while shaking the clothes,

157-158. Those who come before the king with head covered (by a turban), those who are skilled in picking holes in others' pockets, those who are addicted to gambling, drinking, &c., and those who try to see their noses, ears and eyes,

159-160. Those who pick teeth, those who cleanse the ear, those who blow the nose before the king,—these are the fifty sorts of *chhalas* or discourtesy shown to a king.

161-162. Disobeying the king's orders, murder of women, intermixture of castes, adultery, thieving, pregnancy without husband,

163-164. Harshness of words, speaking slang, severity of punishment, and the destruction of fœtus—these ten are *aparādhas* or felonies.

165-166. The wrong-doer, the destroyer of grains, the man who sets fire to houses, the seditionist, the man who counterfeits coins,

167-168. The man who discloses the king's secrets, the man who rescues the prisoner, the man who sells or makes a gift or partitions the property of another of which he is not the owner, or who punishes another,

[1] These are offences against the moral sense and social etiquette of the community.

169-170. the man who stops the beating of drums (public proclamations), falsely claims unclaimed goods, or who misappropriates the king's taxes, and mutilates bodies—

[1]171. These are the twenty-two cases, which the sages say, are *Râjajñeya*, *i.e.*, offences against the State.

172-173. The complainant should be punished if he be insolent, vehement in speech and ferocious in dress, vain, and rough, sit on the seat of the judges and is boastful.

174. An *Âvedana* or plaint is that which is said to the king by the plaintiff.

175. The language in which it is said to the *Prâḍvirâka* should be very intelligible.

[2]176-177. The councillors having got that case should interrogate the plaintiff duly, should have more evidences (than presented by him) or curtail their number.

178. The king should have the depositions signed by the complainant and then seal it with his seal.

[3]179-181. The king should by exemplary punishment deprive those judges and officers of their jurisdiction who without carefully considering the cases pass sentences through fear, greed or passions.

182. The king should first discriminate the cases as to their cognisability before (accepting them for trial).

183. The king should dismiss the plaintiff after his plaint has been duly framed and accepted.

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[1] The twenty-two include the 10 *aparâdhas* together with the offences mentioned in M. 165-70.

These twelve are offences against the State or commonwealth while the अपराध्s are mainly offences against society, morality and religion, whereas the छलs are offences against the person of the king.

The राजज्ञेय offences must be brought for trial at the king's own initiative because the Government itself is the party offended against. The छलs are offences against the king himself, and therefore unless he himself takes cognisance of these, these would remain unpunished, and people would forget manners, etiquette and the rules of civilised life. The अपराध्s are offences against the community, and as the king is the guardian of morals and religion and head of the society it is his function to find out the breaches of social discipline or the perpetration of serious social crimes.

[2] पूर्वपक्ष—The complaint, the case brought forward by the accuser, the case.

The judge should demand for more witnesses if necessary and curtail their number at times.

[3] स्मृत्यर्थं—In order that they may remember their offences in carelessly trying the cases.

[1]184-188. The plaintiff should by royal order appoint truthful, honest, active and well-armed men to keep under detention the defendant (who refuses to make certain statements and ignores his complaint) until he is summoned for trial and examination.

[2]189-190. The detentions as regards to certain places, times, foreign countries, and activities—these are the four kinds of *âsedha* or detentions. The man, who is thus forbidden, must not go beyond them.

[3]191-192. The man who goes beyond the limits of *âsedha*, in binding down the defendant by restraining his calls of nature or harsh words and treatment should be punished.

[4]193-194. The man who violates the *âsedha* and the periods of *âsedha*, *i.e.*, breaks the restrictions imposed upon his liberty should be punished. If doing otherwise, the man who imposes the *âsedha* should be punished.

195-196. The king should summon by warrant or by officers the man against whom people complain as having committed or threatened some wrong.

[6]197-198. The judicious man should suspect men from their associations, past deeds or marks of offence.

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[1] वक्तव्येर्थे—Who talks irrelevant and does not stick to the questions asked of him, *i.e.*, evades them and refuses to make statements.

उक्रामन्तं—Who ignores or defies his plaints.

आसंधयेत्—Should bring under control, bring to bay.

[2] आसेध—Limitations of movements.

(1) स्थानासेध—Certain places are forbidden, the prisoner is confined to certain places.

(2) कालासेध—Periods of time during which the prisoner will not be free to do anything he likes but will be compelled to commit or omit certain things.

(3) प्रवासासेध—Distant places forbidden. The man will not be allowed to go beyond a certain area.

(4) कर्म्मासेध—Certain activities forbidden. The man will be bound down to preserve peace, will not be allowed to speak certain things, &c.

[3] The आसिद्ध or 'bound down' man must not be prevented from responding to calls of nature. He must not be accorded an unnecessarily cruel treatment in words and actions.

[4] The prisoner or the defendant should be punished only in the act of violating the restrictions imposed upon him.

[5] तत्वेन—Actual commission. मुद्रया—Warrant issued over the king's signature.

[6] Grounds of suspicion :—

(1) Bad companions, (2) अनुभूतकृति—Known habits, (3) होढा—Stolen goods. If they are found on somebody's possession he is caught red-handed.

[1]199-201. The king should not summon diseased people, children, old men, men in danger, men with many activities, those who fear the failure of works undertaken, those who are busy with the king's affairs and festivities, drunk, mad, foolish, and sick servants.

202-203. The young maids who have no relatives, high class ladies, women who have just delivered children and are in the lying-in room, high caste girls, women whose masters are not unknown,

204-205. Persons about to be married, the sickly, persons about to undertake sacrifices, persons who are accused in other cases, persons doing work for the State,

206-207. Cowherds tending the cattle, agriculturists in the harvest seasons, artists and artisans at their work, and soldiers in times of war,

208-209. Minors who are not yet masters of their affairs, messengers, persons engaged in charitable works, men in danger—these men are not to be bound down and not to be summoned as witnesses.

210-211. If the bound-down man violates the limitations imposed upon him when swimming a river, crossing a forest or going through a difficult region or in times of revolutions, he is not guilty (and should not be punished).

212-213. After knowing the circumstances of the case, the time, place, as well as the importance of the events, the king may summon the diseased (and others who have been mentioned above as not to be summoned) by conveyances in important cases.

214-215. The king should also summon in serious cases those who have retired to forests after knowing of the complaints against them.

[2]216-218. Representatives have to be appointed by the plaintiff and defendant who do not know the legal procedure or who are busy with other affairs, or who are not good speakers, who are foolish, mad and old and females, children and the diseased.

219. Friends also may be appointed to answer queries.

220-221. The king should accept cases even if they are brought forward by father, mother, friend, brother, and other relatives.

[3]222-223. If somebody has a thing done by somebody appointed by him, the work done by the latter is known to be done by the former.

[1] अकल्य—Diseased. कार्यातिपातव्यसनि—Those who fear lest there be a failure of works already undertaken.

[2] Pleaders and lawyers are to represent such persons and state their cases as their own.

[3] The theory underlying the appointment of the pleaders is this. For the time being they become the defendant's and complainant's other selves so to speak, become in fact the defendants and complainants. The proxy becomes the original by a sort of legal fiction for the purposes of answering queries and asking questions.

224. The lawyer's fee is one-sixteenth of the interests involved (*i.e.*, the value defended or realised).

225. Or the fee is one-twentieth or one-fortieth, or one-eightieth or one hundred and sixtieth portion, &c.

226. Fees to be small in proportion as the amount of value or interest under trial increases.

227. If there be many men who are appointed as pleaders in combination they are to be paid according to some other way.

228. Only the man who knows the law and knows the Dharma should be appointed (as pleader).

[1]229. The king should punish the pleader who receives fees otherwise.

[2]230. The pleader is to be appointed not at the will of the king.

231. If the pleader acts otherwise through greed he deserves punishment.

232-233. If somebody is neither a brother, nor the father, nor son, nor a pleader, but speaks on others' interests (*i.e.*, for or against the two parties) he should be punished.

234-235. Those women who are subordinate to the king, prostitutes, those who have no families, and those women who are degraded may be summoned to the court.

236-237. If after the plaint has been lodged the two parties die, their sons who know of the case should be the cognisable parties; otherwise the king should withdraw the case from trial.

238-241. In the cases of murder, thieving, adultery, taking forbidden food, abduction, harshness, forgery, sedition and robbery there are to be no lawyers as representatives (of the defendants). The perpetrators are to answer personally.

242-243. The king should punish according to offence the man who does not respond to summons owing to the vanity of his men and money.

[3]244-245. Having noticed that the defendant who has been brought by the messenger has other engagements the king should take suitable security for his appearance.

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[1] अन्यथा —Does it mean other than the rate fixed or "other than धर्म्मज्ञ and व्यवहारज्ञ"? He may be punished if he takes exorbitantly or if he practises without knowing the law, &c.

[2] The king cannot appoint any pleader he likes to a case. It is the interested parties who should engage the services of the lawyers in whom they have confidence.

[3] प्रतिभू—Security, one who stands bail. नियोगी, नियोगकृत्—pleader who represents the case.

[1]246-248. 'I shall pay what is not paid by this man, I shall present him before you (at certain dates), I shall make him present a pawn. You have no fear from him. I shall do what is not done by him. Such and such is his occupation (and means of living). He does not swear falsely.'

249-251. The *Pratibhu* or security is to be taken from both parties. He is to be non-slothful, a good speaker, trusted by the people, renowned, wealthy, and capable of investigating cases.

252-254. To prevent forgery and fabricating false evidence, the king who wants truth should keep both the parties under detention for studying the case. They may be maintained by themselves or by the State but will have to maintain their families with their own incomes.

[2]255-256. Men versed in legal affairs know a *sâdhya* to be the case that is free from unintelligible propositions and attended with good evidence, and the *pakṣa* to be the 'object' or person who is definite and human.

[3]257-258. The defects of language (*i.e.*, statements) are ambiguity, meaninglessness, absence of evidence and arguments, under or over-statement, and omission.

259-260. One should give up the following defects of *pakṣa* or 'subject-matter of law suit,' *viz.*, uncommon, *niravâdha* (vexatious and frivolous), useless, contradictory, incomprehensible.

[4]261-262. An *aprasiddha pakṣa* (uncommon) is that which was never seen or heard of by anybody, *e.g.*, "I have been cursed by the dumb, tortured by the son of a barren lady."

263-265. 'This man reads or sings sweetly, and enjoys in his own house, this man has his gate on the street near my house' this is known to be a *niravâdha pakṣa* (frivolous).

266-268. The following is *niṣprayojana* (useless): 'This my son-in-law enjoys with my daughter,' 'This barren woman does not bear child,' 'Why this dead man does not speak.' These are known as *asâdhya* and contradictory respectively.

269-270. 'People do not sympathise with me in my grief and pleasures.' This is *nirartha*, *i.e.*, worthless.

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[1] These are the statements of the man who stands bail before the king. He has to promise certain things in these words.

वृत्तिमान्, etc.,—who promises and guarantees that the party has 'credit' and is a reliable man. आधि—pawn, mortgage.

[2] लोकसिद्ध.—The object must not be non-human. Only human objects are cognisable.

[3] Here are the possible defects प्रतिज्ञादोष of which the सिद्ध must be free.

[4] Such are impossible or absurd statements.

271-272. The plaintiff who after having mentioned his case gives that up or contradicts himself by taking some other side is a mean man and must be punished.

273-274. After the *pûrvapakṣa* or plaint has been determined, corrected according to what is acceptable and what is not, and well discussed, the *uttarapakṣa* or the defendant's version is to be written.

[1]275-276. The plaintiff is to be questioned first, then the defendant. The chief justice is to receive answers to the queries through the officers.

277-279. The reply to the plaint is to be written in the presence of the plaintiff so as to cover the whole case and give the essential points in no vague words and in a manner intelligible without comments.

280-281. That reply is inadmissible which is doubtful, too little, or too much and partial, *i.e.*, covers only an aspect of the case.

282. One should not say anything unless asked, otherwise one is punishable.

283-284. The defendant who does not reply to the plaint presented, is to be controlled by the application of *sâma* and other means.

285-286. By cross-questioning should be disclosed those facts which may have been suppressed by both parties in their statements through wickedness or ignorance.

287-288. There are four kinds of reply--admission, denial, *pratyavaskandana* (admission with justification) and *pûrvanyâyavidhi* (res judicata).

289-290. A confession of judgment or admission or *pratipatti* is that in which the defendant acknowledges as real what has been said by the complainant.

291-292. The denial is that in which the defendant after hearing the plaint objects to it, whether in point of fact or language.

293-294. 'I do not know of it,' 'this is false,' 'I was not there then,' 'I was not born then.' These are the four species of denials.

[2]295-296. A *pratyavaskandana* is that in which the defendant while admitting the statements of the plaintiff, justifies them owing to the existence of other facts.

297-298. The *pûrvanyâya* or *prâṅgnyâya* is that in which the past history of the case is referred to, *e.g.*, in which the defendant says that in this very case the plaintiff was defeated by him sometime ago (res judicata).

299-300. *Prâṅgnyâya* is of three kinds. I shall prove by presentation of the old judgment, or evidence of the officers and judges or by witnesses that I defeated him on the last occasion.

[1] The councillors and officers are to cross both parties.

[2] It is something like an intellectual tug of war between the two parties.

301-302. Those officers who do not receive the statements of the two parties in the presence of each other are punishable like thieves.

303-304. A *kârana* is the document of the actions (*kriyâ*) of both the parties after these have been recorded, corrected, and made faultless.

[1]305-306 The four divisions of a case are first, the *Pûrvapakṣa* or plaintiff's statement, secondly, the *Uttara* or reply of the defendant, thirdly, the *Kriyâ* or actions of the two parties in the conducting of the suit, and lastly, the *Nirṇaya* or decision and judgment.

307. The *Sâdhya* or case is said to be *Kâryya* or the thing to be done. The *Sâdhanâ* or means adopted to do the thing is said to be *Kriyâ*.

308. The plaintiff should establish his case in the third quarter by the *Kriyâ*.

[2]309. The *Vyavahâra* or a law-suit has four divisions, if there be no *Pratipatti* or admission.

310-312. The cases should be tried in the order of their arrival, or of their importance, or of the gravity of injuries suffered and losses sustained, or of the castes.

313-317. The assessors after considering the defence should give their opinion with regard to the party on whom lies the burden of proof. He on whom lies the burden of proof should prove the point at issue with all the evidence at his command, documentary and otherwise. In a dispute between two, the evidence of both cannot be true. The evidence of one must be false, if the other is right.

318. In the case of a reference to the past history of a suit by *Prâṅgnyâya* (res judicata) the defendant will have to present his *Kriyâ* (the means for proving it).

319-320. Some time owing to certain reasons the burden of proof may be shifted from the first to the second party. At this stage the plaintiff should immediately write down the evidence in support of his case.

321. That *Sâdhana* or evidence is two-fold, human and divine.

322. The human evidence is three-fold—documentary, possessory and oral.

323. When the human *Sâdhanas* (evidences) have failed he should use the divine ones like ordeals of the pot, &c.

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[1] पाद्—A quarter. The four quarters or divisions of a case are enumerated here.

[2] प्रतिपत्त्युत्तर True reply as described above. If the reply is true the case is punished then and there, *i.e.*, at the second stage. But if the defendant be not so honest, the case has to be dragged through all the stages.

[1]324. Both *bhûta* (human) and *bhâvya* (divine) *Sâdhanas* are two-fold according to *Tattwa* or reality and *Chhala* or fiction.

325. *Tattwa* is that which describes the truth. *Chhala* is that which describes the false things.

326-327. The king should study the cases after always removing the *Chhalas* by reasoning, inference and the application of *Sâma* and other methods.

328-329. The king should not delay in taking evidence. If there be delay there will arise great defects which may lead to the miscarriage of justice.

[2]330-331. The king should record the evidences (*Sâdhanas*) in the presence of both parties, should not receive them in their absence.

332. The defects of the evidences have to be pointed out by the defendant.

333. The deeper meanings of the evidence are to be made clear by the councillors by referring to the *Sâstras* at the proper time.

334. The man who complains against somebody without any reason is punishable and should be deprived of his suit.

335. After having carefully considered the evidence the king should decide upon the case.

336. The producer of false evidence should be punished according to the offence.

337. The man who bears false evidence and the man who suppresses evidences are to receive double the punishment (of the producer).

338. Now I am describing the written evidence *Likhita Sâdhana*, (and other evidences) in due order.

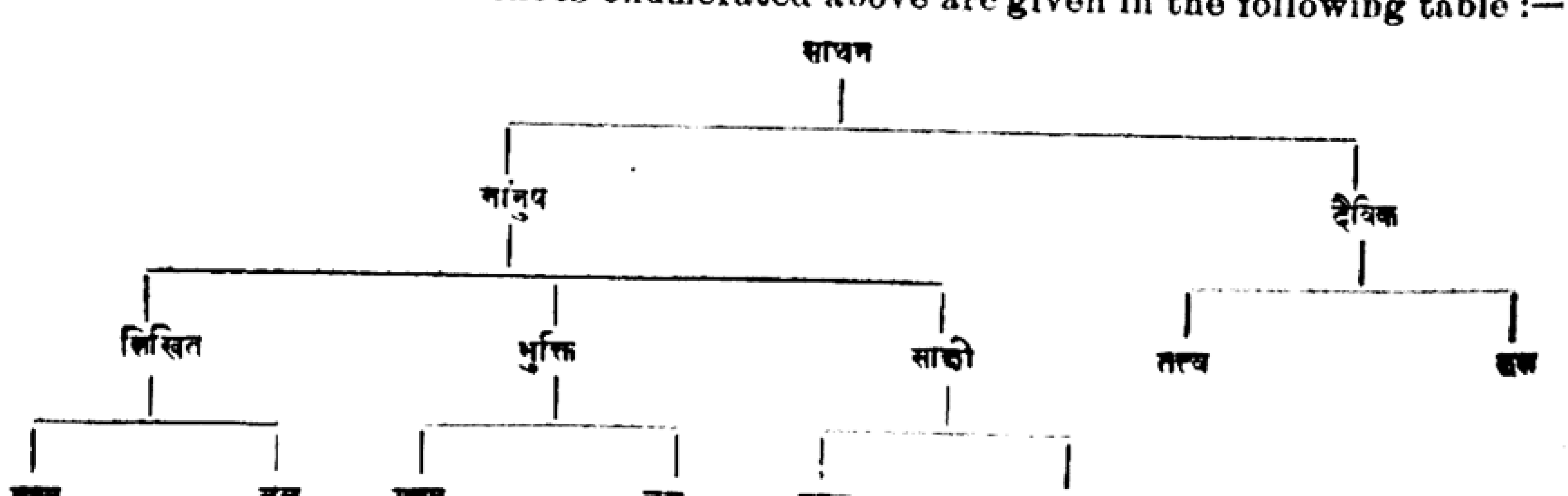
339. Writing was created by Brahmâ as a reminder of past events.

340-342. The *Likhita* or written document is of two kinds—royal

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[1] Each of दैव, and मानुष *Sâdhanas* may be real and fictitious.

[2] The *Sâdhanas* or evidences enumerated above are given in the following table :—



The लिखित are described in ll. 337-63, the साक्षी in 364-416, the भुक्ति in 432-49, the दैविक in 450-451.

and popular, whether recorded with one's own hands or by others, and whether before witnesses or without witnesses. They are to be prepared according to customs of the locality.

343-344. The seven popular *Likhitas* are about partitions, gifts, sales, acceptance, receipts, *Sambiddâna*, and debts.

344-345. Royal commands are of three kinds, meant for administration, information or decision.

346-347. The *Bhâgapatra* or the document of partition is valid if it has the witnesses, and the approval of the heirs. Otherwise even if made by father it is as good as not done.

348-349. The documents of gifts, sale and purchase about immoveable goods are valid only when approved by the receivers and having the *Grâmapas* or village officers as witnesses.

350-351 The royal documents are those that are signed and sealed by the king and signed by the *Prakritis* or departmental heads.

352-357. There should be mention of time, year, month, fortnight, *tithi* (day of the moon's age), period of the day, province, district, place, caste, size, age, the objects, the evidences, the goods, the number, one's own name, and the king's name, residence, names of the other party, names of ancestors, the griefs (or injuries sustained), the collector, or the giver and the signs of mercy, &c.

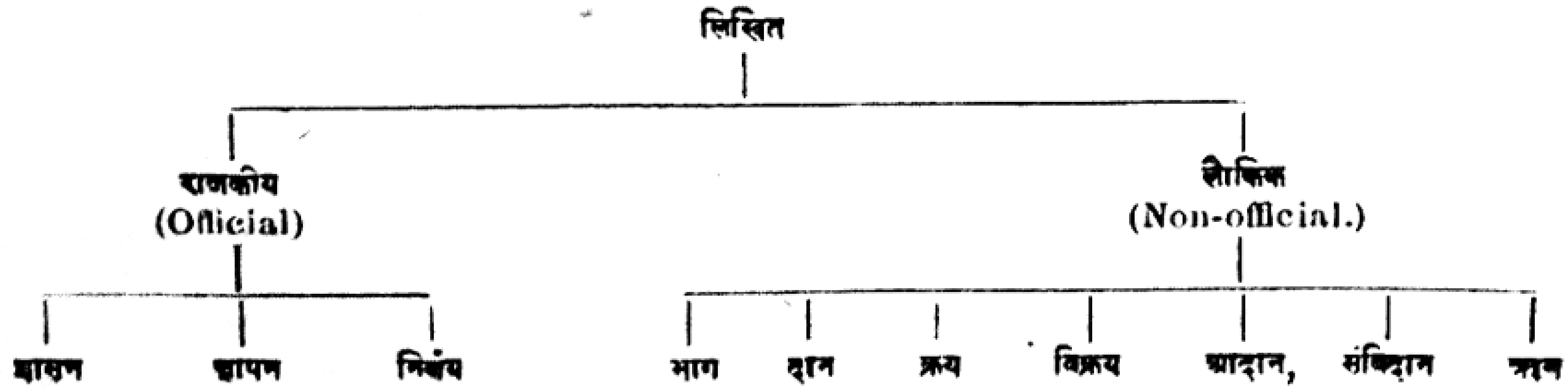
358. The document which does not mention all these is *Hîna* or poor (*i.e.*, not valid), *e. g.*,

359-361. The documents which are disorderly (in which the facts have been mentioned without any order), which mention the facts in the reverse order, which are unintelligible, which are useless, and which are written after the expiration of the period of transaction, are not valid, as well as those which have been written by senseless people, females, or by force.

[1]362-363. In *Vyavahâras* men attain success if documents are made on good paper, attested with good witnesses, etc., and accompanied with possession.

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[1] The लिखित or documents are enumerated below:—



364-365. The man other than self who is aware of the facts of the case is a witness. The witness is of various classes—one who has seen or who has heard of it, each again is divided into two classes—got-up (false) and true.

366-367. The man by whom facts are seen or heard in the presence of the plaintiff and the defendant may be a witness if he be uniform in statements.

368-369. The man whose intelligence, memory and ears do not prove defective even after a long time deserves to be a witness.

370. The man whose truthfulness has been tested deserves to be a witness.

371. Even one man if virtuous is adequate when approved by both parties.

372. Men should be witnesses according to caste and race.

373-374. Householders, not the dependants, wise men, those who are not abroad, and young men should be made witnesses. Females should be appointed in cases involving female interests.

[1]375-376. Witnesses, however, need not be discriminated in the following cases—violence, thieving, felonies and abuse, assault and kidnapping.

377-378. The child because of his ignorance, the women because of mendacity, the forger because of sinful habits; the relatives because of their affection, the enemies because of their rivalry.

379-380. The man who belongs to an inferior caste or race because of his vanity, the cheat because of his cupidity and the servant because of fees and bribes—these people are not to be witnesses.

[2]381. Not also those with whom one has money transactions, with whom one has marriage relations and those with whom one has educational relations.

382. If somebody is prejudiced with the *Śreṇis* (communities) or *vargas* (groups) of men, his evidence is not to be taken. For men like him are all enemies.

384-386. The king should not lose time in talking with the witnesses, and should make them give evidence in the presence of both the plaintiff and the defendant—never in their absence.

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[1] The conditions as to who are to be witnesses are to be enforced only under certain circumstances, not always. There are several cases *e.g.*, साहस in which witnesses need not conform to the above conditions.

The following lines mention the persons who are not to be witnesses.

[2] विद्य *i.e.*, pupils, or school-follows, or teachers.

387. The man who, when ordered, does not bear witness is punishable.

388-389. And the man who was not present or who has not been summoned or ordered to say what he knows is punishable whether he talks truth or falsehood.

[1]390-391. If there be a division or difference the king should accept the verdict of the majority; if there be equality or sameness, he should accept the opinions of the virtuous, and always the opinions of those who are well qualified.

392-393. A person present in court must depose truly as to what he has seen or heard, when asked, even though he may not have been cited as a witness.

394-395. The witness should say separately what he has known separately in different times, this is the eternal practice.

[2]396-397. One should accept the evidences of witnesses which are given spontaneously not through force; after the evidence has been once given by the witness he should not be repeatedly crossed.

398-400. The witness should be interrogated after being well governed by oaths, the teachings of Purâṇas, narration of the great merits of virtuous life, and the great sins of falsehood.

401-402. 'Where, when, how, whence and what have you seen or heard—whether written by oneself or caused to be written by somebody? speak truly all that you know.'

403-404. The witness who gives true evidence attains happy life hereafter and unrivalled fame in this world. This is the remark of Brahmâ.

405-406. It is truth that blesses the witness. It is truth that increases virtue. So it is truth that should be spoken by witnesses with reference to all castes.

407-408. Oneself is one's own witness, oneself is one's own protector. So you should not degrade and insult your ownself (by false evidence).

409-410. The sinner thinks 'Nobody is noticing me.' But the gods and the manes see you.

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[1] The principle is pre-eminently modern.

[2] If the evidence has been clearly set forth once the witness should not be teased by unnecessary questions.

411-412. All the virtues that you have earned in the series of births you have passed through belong to the man whom you thwart by false evidence.

413-414. You also acquire all the vices committed by him during one hundred lives. In this way the king should advise the witness in public.

415-416. One should give sufficient time for the consideration of the evidences presented, according to their nature, whether divine or royal.

417-418. If the written documents be missing the cases should be investigated with the help of evidence by possession and witnesses. If the documents as well as witnesses be wanting only the possession should be used. And if possession evidences fail, the documentary evidences and witnesses should be used.

420-421. The king should never investigate cases with only one kind of evidence *e.g.*, by mere possession or document or witnesses.

422-423. The ingenious cheats can easily produce duplicates of the documents (by forging). Hence on the strength of the documents alone no point can be absolutely gained.

424-425. So also solely on the strength of witnesses no case can be won, because of their affection, greed, fear, anger and falsehood.

[1]426-427. Again there are men who on the strength of mere force enjoy goods whether unclaimed or belonging to others (than themselves). So a case cannot be won by mere possession alone

428-429. One should suspect only such cases as have grounds for suspicion, not otherwise. The king should punish like thieves the officers who are foolishly suspicious.

430-431. Through over-suspiciousness great calamaties come up. People are disintegrated, and virtue and business suffer.

[2]432-433. Possession can be a sufficient evidence when it is attended with income for a long time without opposition and always in the presence of the defendant.

434-435. When, however, the man simply declares that he is in possession but never receives the income there is a case of pretended possession and the man is a thief.

[1] In the last six lines arguments have been advanced to show that all the three kinds of evidences, *viz.*, documents, witnesses and possession—may be vitiated each in its own way. So one only cannot constitute a title to something.

[2] सागम—With income, निराक्रोश—Without opposition.

436. Even title is no evidence which is not accompanied by possession however slight.

437-438. The owner of a small property who sees his moveables enjoyed by another openly for ten years, cannot get that back.

439-440. The man whose land has been enjoyed for twenty years by others, even if he be powerful, cannot get that back.

441-442. The king should punish as a thief the sinful man who holds the property of another for many hundred years even without title.

443-444. But the property which is ceaselessly enjoyed for sixty years even without title cannot be claimed back by anybody.

445-446. The following cannot be destroyed by length of adverse possession: mortgage, boundary land, minor's property, trust property, sealed deposit of female slaves, Government property, and property of a learned Śrotriya.

447-448. The owner who is indifferent (to his property), and remains silent (*i.e.*, does not prohibit the trespasser) cannot get back by a lawsuit that property, on the expiry of the above period.

449. Possession has thus been briefly narrated. Now the divine *Sâdhanas* (ordeals) are being mentioned.

450-451. When through the heedlessness of the owner, there does not exist the threefold evidence and the opposite party conceals the truth, then is to be applied the threefold procedure mentioned hereafter.

452-453. First repeated persuasion (to the opposite party to be fair), secondly, Yukti thirdly, ordeal (or divine test),—these should be applied in succession to prove one's case.

454-455. *Yukti* (or probability and expediency) is that which is based on right argument, unopposed to scriptures and usages of the good, and which is employed to achieve one's end: but not anything else.

456-457. Rewards, distinctions, dissensions, and temptations are the various acts which cause the mind to change. (These means may be employed to weaken the case of the adversary and to induce him to tell the truth).

458-459. Persuasion must be constant and repeated, heedless of the remarks of the opposite party. For though refused thrice, four times, or five times, at last the adversary may yield and turn to right.

460. Even when *Yukti* fails the divya *Sâdhana* (ordeal) has to be used in the investigation of cases.

461-2. The methods are known to be *divya* because these were used by the great *devas* or gods in the discrimination of difficult cases.

463. The seven *Rishis* also recognised them as purificatory means.

464-5. The man who through vanity of learning does not have recourse to the *divyas* adopted by men like *Vasiṣṭha* is an irreligious man.

466-7. The gods undoubtedly take away half the merits of the Brahmana who thro'vanity does not swear by the *divya* method even when it is presented before him.

468-9. On the other hand the man who desirous of his purgation has often recourse to *divya* is purified and does attain fame and heaven, otherwise not.

470-1. In the matter of decision of cases by the *divya*, fire, poison, vessel, water, virtue and vice, rice and oaths—these are prescribed by the sages.

472-3. The preceding ones are more weighty than the succeeding, and should be employed according to the importance of the case. But really all divyas are weighty.

[1]474-7. The (accused) has to walk nine steps with a hot ball of iron in the hand or has to walk seven steps on hot charcoal, or has to take out a quantity of iron placed in hot oil by the hand, or has to lick by the tongue a very hot iron plate.

[2]478. The accused has to swallow poison or catch the poisonous snake by the hand.

[3]479. He has to be measured against something of equal weight and then to correct(?) either diminution or increment(?).

[4]480-1. He has to drink the water taken from that used in bathing his auspicious gods, and afterwards to be immersed in water for a certain period.

[5]482. He has to touch or take away the images of Dharma and Adharma without seeing them.

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[1] These are the methods of using Fire in the *divya* method of trial. Having described the fire-ordeal in these lines Śukracharyya is describing the other *divyas* in succession.

[2] These are the two methods of the Poison-ordeal.

[3] The man has to be placed in the balance twice. If there be any discrepancy in the two measurements his guilt is proved. The घट or water-vessel mentioned in l. 470 must be huge enough, to contain substances, *e. g.*, water, grains &c. equal to a man's weight.

[4] This is the water ordeal. If the man does not get suffocation, soon, he is innocent, it appears. अश्नन् should eat, here drink. Before being immersed in the water he has to quaff off a quantity of the sacred water inorder to be impressed by the gravity of the occasion.

[5] This is the धर्माधर्म ordeal. Two images are placed before the accused, one personating virtue and the other vice. The man is blind folded and required to touch or take away the images in that plight अदृष्ट If he touches the virtue he is innocent, otherwise guilty.

[1]483. He has to chew without anxiety or fear one *Karsha* amount of rice.

[2]484-6. He has to touch the feet of superiors, or heads of children, or coins or swear by the gods ' Let me be cursed with the burden of sins, let all my merits be extinguished.'

[3]487. Fire is prescribed is cases involving thefts of one thousand, poison in one fourth less, balance in one-third less, water in half that amount, virtue and rice in half the preceding (*i.e.* one-fourth of the unit), Rice in one-eighth, oaths in one-sixteenth. This is the order of *divyas*.

[4]491-492. The above figures are meant for the worst (class of people), and it is declared in the Smṛitis that twice those (respective figures) should be taken (in the case) of the better class (of persons), and also four times that (in the case) of the highest (class of men).

493-494. When (the accuser) would not himself abide by the judicial sentence (in case the contrary is proved) then no ordeal is prescribed : it is well declared that the accuser should consent to abide himself by the judicial sentence (if the contrary is proved) in all the ordeals.

495-496. An ordeal is to be prescribed to the accused only, for that is so said in the Śruti, and never shall (a Judge) order an accuser to go through (any one of) the ordeals.

(?)[5]497. But the other, (namely, the accuser,) might, if he so wills it,

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[1] The Rice-ordeal declares a man guilty who in chewing the rice experiences difficulties through palpitation of heart or want of salivation &c. owing to excess of excitement or agitation.

[2] These are the four methods of oath-ordeal.

[3] The *Divya* methods of decision (*Nirnaya*) have to be used in the investigation of criminal cases in the order described in these lines. Criminal Law regarding thefts would thus require :—

		Rs.
(1).	Fire ordeal in suits of	1000
(2).	Poison " "	750
(3).	Balance " "	666
(4).	Water " "	500
(5).	Virtue and Vice "	250
(6).	Rice " "	125
(7).	Oaths " "	62

[4] Fire-test is to be applied for a theft of Rs. 1,000 by निकृष्ट, for Rs. 2,000 by मध्य, and for Rs. 4,000 by the उत्तम. And so on.

[5] A recent commentary proposes that शिरोवर्ती means सम्मुखस्थितः, that is to say, when one is undergoing the ordeal, the other party must stand in front of him. But we follow here the explanation of the Mitākṣara (*vide* under II. 95), which says *śirṣaka* or *śiras*, (lit. head), is the last step of a law-suit, (that is,) decision, and signifies punishment; and he who would consent to abide by that (in case the contrary is proved) is one who resolutely urges the accusation, that is, *śirṣakastha*.

have recourse to ordeal, and (the party) other than he might press the accusation (against him).

[1]498-499. In the case of those who have been suspected by the rulers, those also who have been pointed out to (as offenders) by the enemies (of mankind) and (in the case) of those too who are bent upon proving their innocence, ordeal might be prescribed without the accuser standing in front.

500-501. In cases of adultery and incestuous intercourses in the prohibited (circle), and an accusation of having committed a mortal sin, ordeal itself (should be had recourse to), there is no (proof) otherwise.

[2]502. In the case of those on whom there was a presumptive charge of theft, the ordeal of lifting a small piece of metal from the boiling oily matter is ordained.

503-4. But when the case is an indictment for murder, though means of human proof there does exist, yet if the accuser would (of his own accord) have recourse to ordeal, then the (human) evidence should not there be inquired into.

[3]505-6. Where the means (of proof is such) as its honesty requires to be tried, and if such evidence is given before the king, the king having occupied the seat of justice shall test it by means of a suitable ordeal.

[4]507-8. Whatever document it is, if it is as good as any good legal document, in points of name, Gotra, etc. of the parties, but if no money was ever borrowed (by the defendant), there the decision is to be arrived at by means of an ordeal.

509-11. Where no human evidence is coming forward, the ordeal might be prescribed there, and also in such cases as offences committed

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[1] Another interpretation of this verse: "(In the case) of those who have been pointed out to (as offenders) by the enemies (of mankind), who have been next suspected too by the rulers (as such), and who consequently are bent upon proving their innocence, ordeal might be prescribed without the (accuser) to stand in front."

N. B.—दस्यु, though generally taken to mean robbers, is yet translated as 'enemies (of mankind)' considering the various uses of the word in the Smṛiti literature.

[2] Tapta-mâṣa : see the Mitâkṣarâ II. 7.

[3] If the king hears that the other *sâdhanas* have been used dishonestly he should rectify them by *Divya*.

[4] Cases of forgery and false charges of debts.

The *Divya* is to be applied where, even in the absence of loans, documents are presented which resemble the actual ones in name, gotra &c.

in a forest, in a solitary place, at the time of night, or in an inner apartment, in the case of violence, in cases of accusations affecting the character of women, and the cases where every fact is denied (completely).

512. When other evidences are extremely vitiated, they must be rejected and the honesty of the parties should be tested by means of ordeals.

513-4. In cases relating to mortal sins, theft of deposits, a king, notwithstanding there are witnesses, shall investigate the case by means of ordeals.

515-6. Where witnesses of the first class differ in their evidence, likewise the witness of the next class do so, and likewise do the witnesses other than that next class, that case shall be conducted by administering the oaths.

517-20. In disputes relating to immovable properties; in cases of disputes among unions of men, guilds, and companies; in cases relating to non-delivery of gifts; when a case has to be decided between servants and their masters; in a case relating to rescension of sales; and where having purchased a thing one does not pay the amount of its price, —these (disputes) one shall prove by witnesses, by document and by possession too.

521-22. In marriages, festivities, and gambling games, if a dispute arises, witnesses are the means of proof there, and neither an ordeal nor a document (is necessary).

523-4. In using a property as an entrance or path, mortgage, passage of water, etc., likewise, it is possession itself that is valid.

525-526. If one party would urge human evidence and the other party divine, the king should accept the human not the divine.

[1]527-528. If there be a human evidence which covers only a part of the case, even that is to be accepted, not the divine though that covers the full ground notwithstanding men urge it.

529-530. The six kinds of *Nirṇaya* or decision are through *Pramâṇas* (or evidences of witnesses, documents, &c.), reasons, usages, oaths, special orders of the king, and the admission by the plaintiff.

531-532. Where there is no document, no possession, no witnesses, and no resorting to ordeals, the king is at liberty (to proceed as it is best).

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[1] *Śukranîti* does not advocate the conditions of an over-theocratic life but represents the features of a pre-eminently human and rational state of things. Thus if two *sâdhanas* are brought forward—one human and the other divine, the human is to be accepted. Even if the human evidence be partial, that is more adequate than a couple *divya*.

533-534. In cases which are impossible to decide finally and which are of a doubtful character, *e.g.*, those relating to boundaries, &c., the king as the supreme lord is at liberty (to proceed as it is best).

535-536. Even the king is a sinner if he decides cases in an absolute manner: therefore he should administer the secular interests in harmony with the (spirit of) Dharma Śâstras.

[1]537-538. Judicial investigations are vitiated through the greed of the king and (his) ministers. People too are drawn away from the path of virtue and get addicted to fraudulent matters.

539-541. If a case proceeds through excessive passion, greed and anger it affects the parties, witnesses, judicial councillors, and even the king. Hence the king should cut off their root (*e. g.*, person, etc.,) and discriminate it well.

[2]542-544. If somebody presents as right to the king something which is wrongful and if the king accepts that as right without careful consideration, he is regarded as the real actor and gets eightfold sin.

[3]545-546. The councillors must not be indifferent to the immoral methods of procedure adopted by the king, for then they are thrown down hellward together with the king.

547-548. The *Dhigdaṇḍa* (moral disapprobation) and *Vâgdaṇḍa* (oral chastisement) these two are within the competence of councillors. *Arthadaṇḍa* or fines and corporeal punishment are within that of the king.

549-550. If somebody objects to the judgment as well as the decree of the king as against Dharma, he can have a re-trial on the depositing of double the fine.

[4]551-552. A re-trial or appeal may arise in those cases which have been vitiated by the undue pressure of witnesses and officers, and by the defects of the king's own actions.

[5]553-554. Whoever, an Amâtyá or the President (of the judicial

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[1] If the king and officers be greedy, forgery, counterfeiting, etc., become prevalent among the subjects.

[2] The king must not accept the statements of informers without careful investigation as to their worth.

[3] The सभ्य must protest against the अधर्म of the king.

[4] The appellant may argue that the first trial was vitiated because of the defects of officers, defects of witnesses, and defects of the king himself as regards procedure, judgment, passing of sentence, &c.

अवसन्न —Oppressed.

पौनर्भव—Repetition of the case—appeal.

पुनर्दर्शन—Re-examination.

[5] The king really commits all these offences which are done by Amâtya, *Prádviváka*, &c.

assembly), would decide a case contrary to law, the king shall examine it again, while he should fine them a thousand.

555-556. Without punishment no one can walk in the right path. So when the offences of (judicial) councillors have been pointed out the king should take the case for re-trial.

557-558. A man is said to be successful when he can substantiate his case by arguments, gets the approval of the Judge, and receives the *Jayapatra* or document of victory.

559-560. The king should give to the victorious party the *Jayapatra* after it has been carefully analysed by the officers and accepted by the other party.

561-562. Otherwise the king should imprison the plaintiff for many years, and punish him according to the seriousness of the false charges and (similarly) honour him who is (falsely) accused.

563-564. The subjects follow that king, as the rivers the ocean, who investigates the cases according to *Dharma* by restraining his passions and anger.

565-566. Even the son who has got old age is not independent if the parents are alive: Of them, the father is superior for the seed is superior (to the field).

567. In the absence of father, the mother; in her absence, the elder brother.

568. Sovereignty (authority) can be given only to the eldest, and eldership comes through both qualifications and age.

569-570. One should respect those women as one's own mother who are the wives of father, and should maintain them all with a portion of property equal to his own.

571-572. Subjects are all dependent, the king is the sovereign authority. The disciple is dependent, the preceptor is independent.

573-574. The father has authority over sons and son's wives in the matter of discipline, but no right to sell or give away the son.

575-576. Among those who are dependent, all the (persons) mentioned above (as dependent) are always independent (in a way): they are admittedly their own masters in the matter of issuing command (where they can), and giving away or not giving away (what is their own).

577-578. The father is the lord of all gems, jewels, etc., but neither the father nor the grandfather has authority over all immovables.

[1]579-580. The wife, the son, and the slave—these three are *adhana*, *i.e.*, unpropertied (in the matter of family property). Whatever they earn is the property of those to whom they belong.

[2]581-582. A man is not the owner of the property because it is held by him. Is it not found in the case of thieves that somebody's property is being held by somebody else?

583. Hence ownership is to be admitted only if the Śâstras sanction, it is not brought about by mere enjoyment.

[3]584. Otherwise one should not say that so and so's wealth has been stolen by so and so.

585-6. In the Śâstras sources of income as well as the castes are known to be various and that Dharma of the Śâstras always binds even the Mlechchhas.

587. For the preservation of the community these have been fixed by previous sages.

588. Sons and wives are to be made equal sharers.

589. The daughter is to have half of the son's share, the daughter's son half of that.

590. Even if the father be dead, the sons, &c., are to receive their shares according to the above proportion.

591-592. The son should give one-fourth to the mother, one-half of that to the sister, one-half of that to the sister's son, and himself receive the remainder.

593-594. The son, the grandson, the wife, the daughter, the daughter's son, the mother, the father, the brother and the brother's son —these are to receive the wealth (in the order stated) each in the case of failure of the predecessor (in the list).

[4]595. Absolute right is given to women in the matter of wealth that is called women's wealth as regards sale, and gift, even in immovables.

597-598. The *Saudâyika* wealth is known to be that which comes to a married woman through gifts and dowries from parents' or husband's families or through presents by parents and relatives.

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[1] These persons are the chattels, so to speak. Their earnings belong to their master like themselves.

[2] Mere possession does not constitute property.

[3] One should not without careful examination charge anybody with theft.

[4] सौदायिक derived from स्वदाय, i.e., one's own possessions—here referring to what is technically the *stridhana* or woman's property. The wife will have स्वातन्त्र्य absolute authority over her own wealth (स्त्रीधन) but not over the share which comes to her according to her position in the above order of claimants, *i.e.*, according to the legal share by right of succession. This absolute right pertains to even immovables.

599-600. The man who earns anything without the help of ancestral wealth can enjoy that at his own will. That is indivisible.

601-602. Anybody who can save somebody's wealth from absolute destruction owing to the ravages of deluge, thieves, kings and fire has right to one-tenth.

[1]603-604. The goldsmiths should get remuneration according to the labour undergone by each in cases where they combine to perform a work of art.

605. He is said to be a *sîlpin* by the learned who is well-versed in his art.

[2]606-607. The leader or captain of those who combine to build a palace or a temple and construct canals or furniture is to get twice the share got by each.

[3]608-609. The remuneration of a musical party also is to be divided according to this principle. The *tâlajña* or one who beats time is to get one-half and the singers to have equal shares.

610-611. If thieves steal something from other's kingdoms by the king's order they should first give one-sixth to the king and then divide the rest among themselves.

612-613. If one of the gang is caught all the rest should spend equal sums in rescuing him.

614-615. Those who deal in gold, grains, and liquids (collectively) will have earnings according to the amount of their share, greater, equal or less.

616-17. Whatever portion is stipulated indeed (beforehand), equal, less, or more, that (shall be accepted) exactly so. Expenditure he shall pay and do the work (proportionately) and take the profit too (in the same manner).

618. The same principle (of joint-stock enterprises) applies to merchants as well as peasants.

[4]619-621. The common property, the wealth that has been realised by begging, security, mortgage, slaves, the property of slaves, *anwâhita*

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[1] निर्वेश—Remuneration, सम्भूय—by combining.

[2] Joint work, collective organisations, associations, etc., have been mentioned in Śukranîti, both in economic and political affairs of the *Śreṇîs* and *Gaṇas* &c.

प्रमुख्य—The leader, master-craftsman.

[3] For references to music parties in Indian literature, see an article in the *Vedic Magazine* (March 1918) by the author.

[4] अन्वय—Family.

अन्वाहित—That which is deposited with a person to be delivered ultimately to another person.

(deposits) and the total wealth if there be children—these nine are not to be made over to others by the wise even in times of danger.

622-623. Those who receive what should not be given, and give what should not be given—both these classes of men are to be punished like thieves, and are to be made to pay the highest fine.

624-625. The man who receives wealth from thieves as well as those who are no masters and the man who purchases quite secretly (from them) are to be punished like thieves.

626-627. The priest who forsakes the householder without offence and the householder who forsakes the priest without offence—both are to be punished.

[1]628-629. A merchant should fix $\frac{1}{32}$nd or $\frac{1}{16}$th part as the profit in a business with due regard to the expenditure and to the conditions of the place and not more.

630. (One might advance money to one who intends to be a merchant) and not demanding the interest, he should make him carry on the trade with half the profits always.

[2]631-2. When (the amount) drawn from the debtor (in the form of) interest has reached twice the principal then the king shall make (the debtor) pay only the principal to the creditor and nothing more than that.

[3]633-634. Creditors take away people's wealth by the compound rate of interest. So the king should protect the people from them.

635-636. If somebody does not return the money to the creditor when he is able, the king should make him pay that back by applying the methods of *Sâma*, *Daṇḍa*, &c.

637-638. When the document in one's possession is lost, and he brings a suit for the recovery of debt then the king should well ascertain the truth by means of witnesses and make the debtor pay him as before (when the document had not been lost).

639-640. The man who receives what has not been given and again wants some thing though well paid—both of these are to be punished by the virtuous king.

641. The seller of bad (adulterated) goods is punishable like a thief.

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[1] प्रदेशानुरूपत: —The व्यय or expenditure is to be calculated according to the place of business, *i.e.*, transport and freight are also to be included in the Total Cost of production.

[2] *Cf.* Chapter V. 193.

[3] Here is something like State Intervention in *Credit*-affairs.

612. The king should give wages to artists after noticing their works and qualifications.

[1]643-644. The king should daily receive (as duty) from the sales of silver one-fifth, one-fourth, one-third or one-half—not more.

645. (When) one hundred *palas* (of gold) is taken and melted, it is pure if it still remains one hundred *palas* and does not become less.

646-48. Silver is diminished by four-hundredth part (when melted), copper (becomes) less by a hundredth part; tin, Jasada, and lead (each) is diminished by one-sixteenth part, and iron by one-eighth part, if it is otherwise the artisan should always be punished by the king

649-51. In articles of the best workmanship gold is lost by a two-hundredth part of itself while silver by a hundredth part; and if soldered (by using) good material, (the weight) is increased by a sixteenth part.

652. Having examined the soldering and the workmanship, the increase or decrease should be determined.

653-654. The goldsmiths' wages is to be one-thirtieth (the value worked upon) if workmanship be excellent, one-sixtieth if mediocre, and half of that if of inferior order.

655. Wages to be half of that in the case of *kataka* (bracelet), and in the case of mere melting, half of that.

656-657. The silversmith's wages is to be half if workmanship be of the highest order, half of this if mediocre and half of that if inferior, and half of that if *kataka*.

658-659. The wages is to be one-fourth in the case of copper, zinc, and Jasada metal, half, or equal or twice or eight times in the case of iron.

660. The man who adulterates metals deserves double the punishment.

661-662. Customs originating with the sages in ancient times, have grown with the people in diverse ways, which it is impossible to describe.

663. The Section on Administration of the State has thus been described.

664. The merits and demerits not mentioned herein are to be known from popular usage.

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[1] The Rate of Royalty upon Mining.

SECTION VI.

FORTRESSES.

1. Now I shall narrate in brief the Sixth Section, that on Fortresses.

[1]2. Fortresses are made inaccessible through ditches, thorns, rocks and deserts.

[2]3-4. The *pârikha* fort is that which is surrounded on all sides by great ditches; and the *pârigha* is known to be that which is protected by walls of bricks, stones and mud.

5-7. The *vâna* or forest-fort is one which is encircled by huge thorns and clusters of trees, the *dhanwadurga* is known to be that round about which there is no water, the *jaladurga* or water-fort is that which is surrounded by great sheets of water.

8-9. The *giridurga* or hill-fort is described as that which is on high level and is supplied with plenty of water. The *sainyadurga* or troop-fort is that one which is defended by heroes well up in *vyuhas* or military tactics and hence impregnable.

[3]10. The *sahâyadurga* or help-fort is known to be that which belongs to the valorous and friendly kinsfolk.

[4]11-12. The desert-fort is superior to the *pârikha*, thence the *pârigha*, thence the forest, thence the *dhanwa*, thence the water, last the hill-fort.

[5]13. The *sahâyadurga* and the *sainyadurga* are the ornaments of all fortresses.

14. Without these the other forts are of no use to the king.

15-16. The fortress with soldiers is the best of all, the others are mere helps or auxiliaries to this; the king should therefore always keep this fort.

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[1] ऐरिण pertaining to ईरिण or deserts.

[2] मृद्भित्तिप्राकार embankments of mud wall.

[3] The forts have been described and classified according to two principles: (1) the physical difficulties or advantages of the site on which the fort stands, *e. g.*, forests, water &c., (2) the human inmates also *e. g.*, the troops, the allies, &c.

[4] Of course the arrangement here is in order of the difficulties presented to the enemy. The *parikha* or that which is protected by ditches only is described as being the lowest of all in this respect, and the hill-fort is the best.

[5] Undoubtedly the real strength of all forts is in the nature and mettle of the human element, the valour and character of the troops occupying them. Merely physical advantages are of no avail.

[1]17-18 One who has forts with troops can survey the whole earth; but to have every other kind of forts except those with troops is tantamount to imprisonment.

19. It is advisable to have recourse to other forts in times of danger or emergency.

[2]20-21. One man with arms can fight one hundred if (he gets the protection) of a fort; a hundred men can fight ten thousand, hence the king should have forts.

[3]22. To the valorous and to the people who live in forts with troops every place is like a fort.

23-24. The king should have forts well provided with war materials and contingencies, as well as grains, troops, arms and treasure.

25-26. The fortress which is manned by friends and allies is the best of all. Victory is sure when the fort is thus manned.

27. Whichever is thus manned by friends and allies is sure to lead to victory.

[4]28. The mutual dependence of forts and fortresses constitutes an element of success.

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[1] Of course one can easily appreciate the embarrassing situation in which the ruler is placed when he has forts with physical advantages only but no manly and friendly troops to defend them. It is obvious that under these circumstances the instruments of self-defence would be used by the enemies against their proprietors themselves, and forts would be their own prisons.

The distinction between the physical and the human elements is here carried to perfection.

[2] The efficacy of forts is described here. It is suggested that forts can multiply a warrior's strength hundred-fold. One man in a fort is equivalent to one hundred men out of it.

[3] People who depend on their own nerve can convert every place into a fort, *i. e.*, can walk erect everywhere without fear. It is the inward strength of a man that is his real fort.

[4] 'परस्परानुकूल्य' The forts should all be so situated and governed that there arise no difficulties of access from one to the other or conflicts of jurisdiction between them. The system of forts in the State should be placed on a sound basis of co-ordination and inter-relation.

In enumerating the factors of success or the circumstances that are likely to lead to success, Sukrâchâryya mentions two conditions :—

(1) The existence of सहाय *i.e.*, friends and allies.

(2) The well-ordered military system and governmental machinery which alone can place the forts in inter-dependent relations.

SECTION VII.

THE ARMY.

[This is a purely political chapter embracing many of the important topics dealt with in Treatises on International Law, especially in their sections on War.]

1. Forts have been briefly discussed, the Seventh Section, that on the Army is now being narrated.

2. The army is the group of men, animals, &c., equipped with arms, missiles, &c.

[1]3-4. The army is of two kinds: (1) that which proceeds independently; (2) that which has resort to vehicles, &c. Each, again, is of three kinds: (i) that pertaining to the gods; (ii) that pertaining to monsters; and (iii) that pertaining to human beings. The preceding ones are stronger than the succeeding.

5-6. The *swagamâ* army is that which moves without any help, the *anyagamâ* is that which proceeds in vehicles. The Infantry is the *swagamâ*, the other is of three kinds, using chariots, horses or elephants.

7-8. Without the army there is neither kingdom, nor wealth nor prowess.

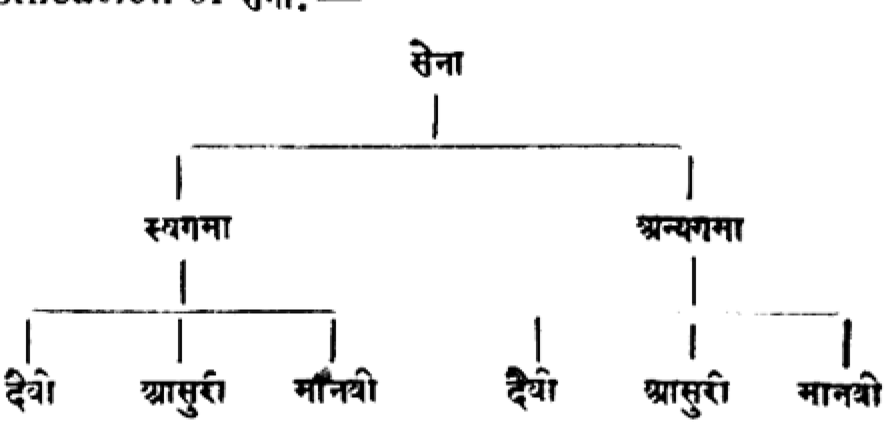
[2]8-9. Even in the case of a man of no position, everybody becomes his tool if he has strength and becomes his enemy if he be weak. Does not this hold true in the case of rulers?

[3]10-12. Strength of the body, strength of valour and prowess, strength of the army, strength of arms, fifth is strength of intelligence, the sixth is strength of life. One who has all these is equivalent to Viṣṇu.

13. Without the army no one can overpower even an insignificant enemy.

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[1] Classification of सेना:—



[2] It is strength that converts foes into friends in the case of ordinary people (अल्पजनस्य or of a man who has few people *i. e.* of insignificant persons). So the king should always have strength, (*i. e.*, the army) and never be weak.

[3] The man possessing all these six kinds of strength is certainly super-human.

[1]14. The gods, monsters, as well as human beings have to depend on others' strength (*i. e.* strength of the army).

15-16. The army is the chief means of overpowering the enemy. So the king should carefully maintain a formidable army.

[2]17-18. The army is of two kinds—one's own, and that belonging to the allies. Each again is of two kinds according as it is—(*i*) long standing, or (*ii*) newly recruited, and also as it is—(*i*) useful, or (*ii*) useless.

[3]19-20. (The army is of two kinds): untrained or trained; officered by the State or not officered by the State; equipped by the state with arms, or supplying their own arms and ammunitions; bringing their own vehicles or supplied with vehicles by the State.

21. The army that belongs to the allies is maintained through good-will, one's own army is however maintained by salary.

22. The *maula* army is that which has been existing for many years, the *sâdyaska*, which is not that.

23. The *sâra*, efficient or useful army is that which is adept in warfare, the contrary is the *asâra*.

24. The trained army is that which is skilled in the *vyuhas* or military tactics, the opposite is the untrained.

25. The *gulmibhuta* army is that which has officers of the State, the *agulmaka* is that which brings its own chiefs.

26. The *dattâstra* army is that which receives arms etc. from the master, otherwise is the army which supplies its own arms and missiles.

27. The army regimented by the State, and the regiments formed among the soldiers by themselves; likewise the army receiving conveyances from the state (or not).

[4]28. The *kirâts* and people living in forests who are dependent on their own resources and strength (belong to the latter class).

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[1] Everybody requires assistants.

[2] मौल—old, existing from the origin or मूल of the State. साद्यस्क new, raw recruits.

[3] Two kinds of military recruitment are described here. The army of the State seems to have been divided into two classes: (1) the Standing army which must have been trained, regimented गुल्मीभूत or officered and manned by the Military Department of the State), and supplied with weapons and conveyances at State expense, (2) the national army of volunteers or the Militia which must necessarily be raw recruits, untrained, unregimented (*i.e.* having their own captains and lieutenants) and responsible for their own arms, accoutrements and conveyances. It would thus appear that the मौल army *i.e.*, that which is connected with the State, as it were, through roots, or from the beginning, would correspond to the permanent standing army of the kingdom, and the साद्यस्क or new army improvised for the occasions to the national Militia enlisted by the methods of conscription or voluntary service.

[4] It appears that the army of the State may be recruited from independent forest-tribes who do not ordinarily acknowledge suzerainty of the neighbouring chief. They of course bring their fighting apparatus.

[1]29-30. The troops left by, or captured from, the enemy and placed among one's own people as well as one's own troops tampered with by the enemy, should be regarded as inimical.

31. Each is weak, and not at all a help.

[2]32-33. Strength of the physique is to be promoted in the interest of hand-to-hand fights by means of tussles between peers, exercises, parades and adequate food.

34-35. The king should promote the strength of valour and prowess by means of hunting excursions against tigers (and big games) and exercises among heroes and valorous people with arms and weapons.

[3]36-37. The strength of the army is to be increased by good payments, that of arms and weapons by penances and regular exercises; and that of intelligence by the companionship of (or intercourse with) people learned in Śastras.

[4]38-40. The king should so govern his life that the kingdom may be permanent in his own dynasty through continuity of good deeds. So long as the kingdom continues in his family so long he is said to live.

[5]41. The king should have his infantry four times the cavalry, bulls one-fifth of his horse, camels one-eighth, elephants one-fourth of the camels, chariots half of elephants, and cannon twice the chariots.

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[1] भेदाधीन brought under the policy of भेद one of the four celebrated methods of Statecraft recognised in Hindu Niti Śástras. When once the loyalty of the troops has been tampered with by the enemy and seeds of disaffection have been sown among them, there is no trust to be placed with them. The disaffected army is as good as the enemy's (and should be 'disbonded').

[2] समै: Equals, peers. नियुद्ध tug-of-war, hand-to-hand tussles. बाहुयुद्धाय" Muscular strength is a desideratum for duels.

[3] In ll. 31-36 Śukrácháryya has pointed out the proper method of developing the various kin's of military strength—(1) physical, (2) moral, (3) intellectual &c.

तप: Mantras and penances are prescribed for warriors in the use of missiles and weapons in all Hindu Treatises on Polity. *Atharva Veda* is the great and one of the first storehouses of these military charms and incantations.

[4] The king should try to perpetuate himself and thus augment the strength or longevity of his life. The method suggested is सत्क्रिया *i.e.*, the performance of good deeds. सत्क्रिया leads to popularity of the king and maintenance of the State in the same family for long. Thus the king himself lives long through posterity.

[5] The relative proportion of the constituents of the Army according to *Sukraniti*:

पादात (Footsoldiers)		=4 अश्व (Horse).
वृष (Bull)		$=\frac{1}{5}$ of „
क्रमेलक (Camel)		$=\frac{1}{8}$ of „
गज (Elephants)	$=\frac{1}{4}$ क्रमेलक	$=\frac{1}{32}$ of „
रथ (Chariot)	$=\frac{1}{2}$ गज	$=\frac{1}{64}$ of „
बृहन्नालीक (Cannon *i. e.*, artillery)	=2 रथ	$=\frac{1}{32}$ of „

[1]45-6. He should have in the army a predominance of footsoldiers, a medium quantity of horse, a small amount of elephant force, equal number of bulls and camels, but never elephants in excess.

[2]47-52. The ruler whose income is a *lac karsha* or one lakh of rupees should have every year one hundred reserve force of the same age, well-accoutred and decently equipped with weapons and missiles, three hundred footsoldiers armed with lesser fire-arms or guns—eighty horses, one chariot, two larger fire-arms or cannons, ten camels, two elephants, two chariots, sixteen bulls, six clerks, and three councillors.

[3]53-8. The ruler should every month spend one thousand and five hundred rupees on contingencies, charities and personal wants, one hundred on the clerks, three hundred on councillors, three hundred on wife

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[1] Here is a general remark about the definite proportion stated above. The bulls and camels may be equal in amount, the particular injunction about elephants should be noted.

[2] The annual military establishment of the ruler worth Rs. 1,00,000 which is regarded as the 'unit' of political life is described in these lines. It provides for :—

(1) 100 पृथक् or separate *i. e.*, reserve force.
(2) 300 Infantry with guns.
(3) 80 Horses.
(4) 1 Chariot.
(5) 2 Cannons.
(6) 10 Camels.
(7) 2 Elephants.
(8) 2 Chariots.
(9) 16 Bulls.
(10) 6 Clerks or Scribes.
(11) 3 Councillors.

[3] The monthly items of expenditure of the ruler worth one lakh have been given in these lines. The 'unit' of Disbursement in the annual budget gives the figures in the following schedule :

	Items.	Per month. Rs.	Per year. Rs.
(1)	Personal wants, enjoyments and charities etc ...	1,500	18,000
(2)	6 Clerks or Scribes	100	1,200
(3)	3 Councillors	300	3,600
(4)	Family	300	3,600
(5)	Learning and education	200	2,400
(6)	Horse and Foot	14,000	4,000
(7)	Elephants, Camels, Bulls and Fire-arms	400	4,800
(8)	Savings	1,500	18,000
	Total ...	8,300	99,600 (about a lakh).

It would be interesting to note the salary bill of clerks and ministers. It appears that about Rs. 16 a month is the rate for each clerk, and Rs. 100 a month is fixed for the highest officer of a State yielding Rs. 1,00,000. Incidentally we get an idea of what is known as the Standard of Life and Cmofort among the ancient Hindus.

and children, two hundred on the men of letters, four thousand on the horsemen, horses and infantry, four hundred on elephants, camels, bulls, and fire-arms, and save the remaining one thousand and five hundred in the treasury.

[1]59. The ruler should annually withdraw money from the soldiers for their accoutrements.

[2]60-63. The chariot that is to be kept by the State should be made of iron, easily moveable by means of wheels, placed on a platform, provided with a seat for the driver in the middle, filled with weapons and missiles in the interior, fitted up with arrangements for producing shade at will, beautiful to look at, and furnished with good horses.

[3]64-67. Harmful elephants are those that have blue palates, blue tongues, curved tusks, or no tusks, who persist long in their angry moods, whose rut gushes out without any systematic order, who shake their backs, who have less than eighteen nails, and whose tails touch and sweep the ground ; good elephants have the opposite attributes.

[4]68. There are four classes of elephants—*Bhadra*, *Mandra*, *Mṛiga* and *Miśra*.

69-70. The *Bhadra* elephant is known to be that which has tusks coloured like honey (*i. e.*, not pure white but yellowish), which is strong and well-formed, is round and fat in body, has good face and has excellent limbs.

[5]71-72. The *Mandra* elephant is that which has a fat belly, lion-like

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There is another item to be noted in this schedule. This is about Learning and Education. Patronage of Education and Promotion of Learning by means of stipends, scholarships, rewards, honorariums etc. are compulsory items that cannot be neglected in the monthly State-Budgets. Men of letters are among the primary charges upon the income of the ruler. Hence there is a definite provision for them in the 'unit' of disbursement or the normal Budget of the one lakh standard.

[1] The soldiers have to pay for their own uniforms. But it appears that the State is to get these prepared and not to make the individuals responsible. The system seems to be that of granting liveries and uniforms from the State in exchange for the price to be paid by the soldiers. They cannot purchase these things in the open market at their own will.

[2] इच्छाय:—The tent on the chariot should be foldable and portable if need be, so that it may be convenient to regulate it according to the rays of the sun.

[3] The science about elephants is highly specialised in India. Hindu drivers and veterinary doctors are well up in the rules of elephant life. There are several marks known to them by which they can interpret the internal character of these animals and forebode good or evil of the owner.

[4] The celebrated four castes (जाति) are to be met with in almost every Hindu system of classification. Cf. the classification of wood, trees, and boats.

[5] सिंहाक्षि—Eyes like those of the lion, *i. e.*, which turn towards the back and the sides at intervals.

eyes, thick skin, thick throat and thick trunk, medium limbs and a long body.

73-74. The *Mriga* elephant is that which has small or short throat, tusks, ears and trunk, big eyes, and very short lips and genital organ, and is dwarf.

[1]75. The *Mis'ra* elephant is that which has these characterisics in mixture.

[2]76. The three species have separate measurements.

77-78. In elephant measurements one *angula* is made by eight *yavas*, and one *kara* or cubit is made by twenty-four *angulas*.

79-80. In the *Bhadra* class the height or stature is seven cubits, the length is eight cubits, and circumference of the belly is ten cubits.

[3]81. The measurement of the *Mandra* and *Mriga* species are successively one cubit less than the preceding.

[4]82. But it is mentioned by sages that the lengths of the *Mandra* and *Bhadra* class would be equal.

[5]83-84. The best of all elephants is that which has long cheeks, eyebrows and forehead, has the swiftest speed, and has auspicious marks on the body.

[6]85. The horse measure is separate, as indicated by the ratio that five *Yavas* make one *angula*.

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[1] The *Miśra* would thus be a non-descript, incapable of being classified or specified as belonging to a particular type.

[2] The relative proportions of limbs vary with the three classes.

[3] The height of the *Mandra* would thus be five cubits, that of the *mriga* could be five cubits. The length of the *Mandra* would be seven cubits, that of the *Mriga* would be six cubits. The circumference of the belly of the *Mandra* would be nine cubits that of the *Mriga* would be eight cubits.

[4] This is a special rule modifying that in the previous line. According to l. 81 the length of the *mandra* ought to be seven cubits, *i.e.*, one cubit less than that of *Bhadra*. But by this rule the lengths are equal. So *Mandra* is eight cubits long. Therefore *Mriga* is to be seven cubits not six as in l. 81.

The following measurements are to be noted in ll. 77-82.

(*a*) Elephant measure :—

8 Yavas	1 Angula.
24 Angulas	1 Kara.

(b) Comparative statement of limbs :—

	Bhadra.	Mandra.	Mriga.
Height	7 karas	6 karas	5 karas.
Length	8 "	8 "	7 "
Circumference of belly ...	10 "	9 "	8 "

[5] शुभलक्षण. But these लक्षण or marks have not been mentioned in the Treatise.

[6] In measuring horses people use a different standard from that used for elephants,

[1]86-89. The best horse is that whose face is twenty-four *angulas.* The good is that whose face is thirty-six *angulas.* The medium is that whose face is thirty-two *angulas.* The inferior is that whose face is twenty-eight *angulas.*

90. In horses all the limbs are made according to a certain proportion with the face.

[2] 91-95. The height is three times the measure of the face. The length of the whole body from the crescent (top of the head) to the beginning or origin of the tail is four times the face together with its one-third. The circumference of the belly is three *angulâs* over and above three times the face. These are the general rules of measurement of limbs. Elaborate details are being given below.

[3]96-101. In the horse of the twenty-eight-angula-face, the height of the heel (hoof) is three angulas, the ankle-joint (fetlock) four angulas, the leg is twenty angulas, the knee is three angulas, the thighs to the end of the elbow are twenty-four angulas. The space from the elbow-joint to the neck is thirty-eight angulas. The back thighs are equal to the face, the back legs are less than the face by a quarter.

102. The height has been already mentioned. The length is now being described according to the Śâstras.

[4]103-104. The length of the neck is extensive, one-sixth in addition to twice the face. The height of the neck is one-fourth and half of that less than the face.

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[1] General remarks about the quality of horses :—

5 यव	... ...	1 अङ्गुल
The best horse has a face of	... ...	24 अङ्गुल
The good „ „	... ...	36 „
The medium „ „	... ...	32 „
The lowest „ „	... ...	28 „

[2] The limbs of the horses are to have a fixed proportion with the face. Ordinary horse-measurements are :—

Stature	... ...	3 faces.
Length	... ...	$4\frac{1}{3}$ „
Circumference of उदर	... ...	3 „ + 3 angulas.

[3] शफ heel or hoof. मणिबन्ध from heel to ankle.

चतुर्हस्ताङ्गुला angulas of four hands *i.e.,* 20 angulas.

कूर्पर elbow, here the joint which connects the thighs with the trunk.

प्रत्यक् back or hind. The back leg is thus twenty-eight minus seven or 21 angulas.

[4] सार्द्धपादहीना less than the face by $\frac{1}{4}$th and $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$th, *i.e.,* $28-(\frac{1}{4}+\frac{1}{8})$ of 24 augulas or about 28-7-3 or 18 angulas.

[1]105-106. From the end of the neck to the origin of the genital organ the measure is equal to that of the neck. From there to the end of the vertebral column the space is one-half and one-sixth of the face.

107-108. The tail is half the face, the genital organ likewise, the testicles are half the tail and organ. The ear is six angulas long, may be four or five angulas also.

109-110. The circumference of the heel or hoof is one angula in addition to half the face. That of the portion just above is half of this, that of the legs is likewise.

111-113. The circumference of good thighs is eleven angulas according to the masters. The circumference of the back thighs is three times one-sixth. The outer aspect of the hind thigh and leg is to look like a curved bow.

114-115. The circumference of the hock at the ankle-joint is nine angulas. The circumference of the hind legs is equal to that of the fore-legs.

116-117. Space between two thighs is one angula. Breadth or width of the neck on which the hair grows is one and a half angula.

118-119. The mane should be made to grow beautifully downwards, to the extent of one cubit, from the space between the crown and the end of the neck.

120-122. The hair of the tail is one and a half cubit or two cubits. The length of the ears is seven, eight, nine or ten angulas, their width is three or four angulas.

123-125. The neck is neither fat nor flat but like that of the peacock. The circumference of the foreneck is one *mushti* or four angulas in addition to the face. The circumference of the origin of the neck (*i.e.*, where it comes out from the body) is twice the face minus ten angulas.

126-127. The good breast is one-third less than the face. The circumference of the forehead over the eyes is eight angulas in addition to the face.

128-129. The circumference of the face at the nose below the eye is equal to the face minus one-third.

130-131. The width of the eye is two angulas, their length is three angulas. Or the width two angulas and a half and the length is four angulas.

132. The space between two thighs is one-third face.

133. The space between the two eyes is one-fifth of the face.

[1] त्रिक end of the vertebral column. द्व्यंशषष्ठ ($\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{6}$) of 28 or 18 angulas.

134. The space between two ears is likewise, as well as the space between an eye and an ear.

135. The space between two heels, when the horse is standing erect is equal to the length of the ear.

[1]136-7. The space between two eye-pupils, space between two eyes, as well as the space between the nose and the eye are one-third of the hind thigh.

138-9. The upper lip is one third of the face. The space between two nostrils is one-ninth of the same.

140. The body (from back to breast) is half of human height, and is equal to the breast at the end of the vertebral column.

141. The breast hangs low at the origin of the arms to the extent of one-fourth of the face.

142-3. The space between the arms at the breast is known to be one-sixth of the face. The lower lip is an angula and a half high together with the jaw.

144. That horse is beautiful which has a high neck and low back.

[2]145-7. If an image is to be made, the appropriate pattern or model should be always placed in front. No image can be made without a

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[1] सक्थि or hind thigh is 28 angulas. The space therefore is about 9 angulas.

[2] The following are the measurements given in ll. 96-144. The type taken is that whose face is 28 angulas, *i. e.* the lowest species.

(*a*) *Heights*

1.	Heel or Hoof	3	angulas.
2.	Anklejoint	4	"
3.	Fore leg	20	"
4.	Knee	3	"
5.	Fore thigh	14	"
6.	Thigh to neck	38	"
7.	Hind legs	28	"
8.	Hind thighs	21	"
9.	Neck	18	"

(*b*) *Lengths.*

1.	Neck	60	angulas.
2.	Body	60	"
3.	From organ to end of vertebral column	18	"
4.	Tail	14	"
5.	Genital organ	14	"
6.	Testicles	7	"
7.	Ear	6. 4, or 5	"
8.	Mane or Hair of neck	1 cubit	
9.	Hair of tail	1½ or 2 cubits	
10.	Eye	3 or 4 angulas.	

model. So the artist should frame the limbs after meditating on the horse and finding out the measurements and attributes of horses in the manner indicated above.

149-53. The horse with divine attributes or excellent horse is that which has a beardless face, beautiful, smart and high nose, long and high neck, short belly, heels and ears, very swift speed, voice like the cloud and the gander, is neither very wicked nor very mild, has good form and colour and beautiful circular rings of feather.

154-55. Circular hair-rings or feather-rings are of two kinds—those turning leftwards or rightwards, full rings or partial rings, small rings or large rings.

[1]156-57. The hair ring that turns leftwards is auspicious in the

(c) *Circumferences.*

1.	Heel	... 15	angulas.
2.	Anklejoint	... 7½	,,
3.	Fore leg	... 7½	,,
4.	Fore thigh	... 11	,,
5.	Hind thigh	... 88	,,
6.	Hock of the anklejoint	... 9	,,
7.	Hind leg	... 7½	,,
8.	Forepart of neck	... 32	,,
9.	End of neck	... 46	,,
10.	Forehead	... 36	,,
11.	Face at the nose below the eye	... 19	,,

(d) *Distances, breadth, width, or space.*

1.	Between two thighs at the back	... 1	angula.
2.	The neck on which hair grows	... 1½	,,
3.	Ear	3 or 4	,,
4.	Breast	... 19	,,
5.	Eye	2 or 2½	,,
6.	Between two thighs	... 9	,,
7.	Between two eyes	... 5	,,
8.	Between two ears	... 5	,,
9.	Between eye and ear	... 5	,,
10.	Between two heels	6, 7, &c	,,
11.	Between two pupils of eyes	... 9	,,
12.	Between two eye brows	... 9	,,
13.	Between eye and nose	... 9	,,
14.	Between two nostrils	... 3	,,
15.	Between arms at breast	... 4	,,
16.	Lower lip	... 1½	,,
17.	Upper lip	... 9	,,
18.	Between back and breast	1¾	cubits.

[1] If the hair-rings have a rightward direction in female horses, the result is inauspicious. So if a male horse has hair-rings which turn leftwards the result is not satisfactory.

female horse, and that which turns rightwards in the male horse. Not the contrary.

158. Their results vary with the directions in which they are formed, *e. g.*, downwards, upwards or oblique.

[1]159-61. The auspicious marks made of hair or feather are the conch, wheel, mace, lotus, altar, seat of meditation, palace, gate, bow, pitcher full of water, white mustard seeds, garland, fish, dagger and Srivatsa gem.

162-63. Those horses are the very best which have these feathery shapes on the nose-tip, the forehead, throat and head.

164-65. Those are good horses which have these hair marks on the breast, neek, shoulder, waist, nave, belly and the front of the sides.

166-67. The *purnaharsha* horse is that which has two such marks on the brow and a third on the head.

168-69. The horse that has a mark on the backbone leads to the increase of the master's horses aud is known as the *suryya* horse.

170-71. The horse that has three marks on the forehead is known as *trikuta* and leads to the increase of horses.

172-73. The horse that has three such feather spots on the neck is the *vâjeesha* or lord of horses in the royal stable.

174-75. If two marks are noticed on the cheeks of a horse they lead to the increase of fame and kingdom.

176-77. The horse that has however only one mark on the cheek is known as the *sarvanâma* and leads to the owner's ruin.

178-79. The horse that has a mark on the right cheek is known as the *siva* and leads to the happiness of the master.

180. The horse that has a mark on the left cheek is wicked and leads to loss of wealth.

181-83. The horses that have two spots on the ears are known as *Indra*, those that have marks on the nipples are known as *Vijaya*

Both give victory in wars and lead to the increase of territory.

184-85. The horse that has two marks on the side of the neck is known as *Padma*; and that brings several Padmas (Padma=one thou-sand billions) of wealth as well as unceasing happiness to the master.

186-87. The horse that has one or three marks in the noso is known as *Bhupala* and *Châkravarti*.

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[1] If the feathers or hairs on the body of horses do assume somo such shapes as aro known to belong to the objects mentioned here, it is believod the proprictor will bo happy. It thus appears that the marks on the horse's body need not all bo circular. The भमर s may be of any shape and size.

स्वस्तिक (1) Seat of meditation, (2) white mustard seeds.

188-89. The horse that has one large mark on the throat is known as *Chintamoni* and leads to the realisation of the desired objects.

190. The horses that have marks on the forehead and the throat are known as *Sulka* and give increase and game.

191-2. If the horse has marks in the mouth or at the end of the belly, it is sure to get death or causes ruin of the master.

193-95. The marks that are on the knees give the troubles of life abroad. That on the genital organ causes loss of victory and beauty. That on the end of the vertebral column means destruction of *trivarga, i.e.*, every thing.

196-97. The horse that has a mark on the orgin of the tail is ruinous and known as *Dhumaketu.* The horse that has a mark on the rectum, the tail and the end of the vertebral column is known as the *Kritânta.*

200-2. The marks are always bad if they are on eyes, jaws, cheeks, breast, throat, upper lip, kidney, waist, knee, genital organ, hump of the back, navel, right waist and right foot.

203-5. The marks are good if they are on the throat, the back, lower lip, space between ear and eye, left waist, sides, thighs, and fore legs.

206-7. Two marks on the forehead with space between indicate good and are like the sun and the moon. If they overlap they give medium results, but if they are too contiguous they are evil.

208-9. Three marks on the forehead with space between them one being on the top are indicative of good. But two marks very contiguous to each other are inauspicious.

210. Three triangular marks on the forehead are the causes of grief.

211. One mark in the middle of the throat is very auspicious and prevents all harms.

212. On the leg the downward mark is good, on the forehead the upward.

(?)213. A *Śatapadi* which is turned backward is not all regarded as inauspicious.

214-15. The mark on the back of the genital organ or the nipple is bad. That near the ear also is bad.

216. If the horse has a mark on one of the upper sides of the neck it is called *Ekarashmi.*

217. The horse that has an upward mark on the leg is disparaged as the uprooter of posts.

218. The horse that has both good and evil marks is known to be medium.

[1]219. The horse that has five white marks on the face and four legs is known as *Panchakalyâna.* The one that has in addition to these three marks on the breast, neck and tail is known as *Ashtamangala.*

220. The *Shyâmakarṇa* horse is that which has one colour throughout the body but has ears coloured *shyâma i.e*, greenish. If that one colour be white the horse is sacred and deserves to be worshipped.

223. The horse is known to be *Jayamangala* which has eyes like *vaiduryya* gem.

224. The horse may be worshipped, whether of one colour or of variegated colour, provided it is beautiful.

225. The horse with black legs as well as that with one white leg are disparaged.

226-28. The rough, grey coloured as well as ash-coloured horses are also despised. The horses with black roofs of mouth, black tongues, black lips, as well as those which are throughout black but have white tails are deprecated.

229-31. Those horses are good which run with legs thrown from a height, whose movements are like those of tigers, peacocks, ducks, parrots, pigeons, deer, camels, monkeys and bulls.

232-33. If the horse-man does not get tired by riding a horse even after over-feeding and over-drinking, the gait of the horse is known to be excellent, and the horse is also very good.

234-35. The horse that has one very white mark on the forehead but is throughout coloured otherwise is known as *dala bhanji*, the man who has such a horse is looked down upon.

23. All defects due to colour vanish if the horse has a decent aspect.

238. The horse that is strong, has good gait, is well-formed and not very wicked is much appreciated even if defiled by hair-marks.

[2]239-43. Defects grow in horses through long continued absence of work. But through excessive work the horse grows lean and emaciated by disease. Without bearing burden the horse becomes unfit for any work. Without food it becomes sickly, but with excessive feeding it contracts disease. It is the good or bad qualifications of the trainer that give the horse good or bad gait.

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[1] The five or eight white marks are so many auspicious signs.

[2] Some commonplace observations about food, exercise, work, training etc. of horses.

244-45 The good trainer is he who moves his legs below the knees, keeps his body erect, is fixed in his seat, and holds the bridle uniformly.

[1]246 47. The good trainer should strike the horse at the proper place by whips mildly and not too severely but with medium pressure.

248-50. He should strike the horse at the sides if it neighs, also at the sides if it slips, at the ear if it shies, at the neck if it goes astray, at the space between the arms if angry, at the belly if absent-minded.

251. The horse is not struck at any other place by experts.

252-54. Or one should strike the horse at the breast if it be terrified, at the neck if it neighs, at the posterior if it slips, at the mouth if going astray, at the tail if it be angry, at the knees if it be absent-minded.

255-57. One should not strike the horse very often or at the wrong place. One adds to the defects of the horse by striking it at the wrong time and place. Those defects exist so long as the horse lives.

258. One should overpower the horse by whips, should never ride a horse without a whip.

[2]259. The good horse should go one hundred *dhanu* in sixteen *mâtrâs*.

260. Horses are inferior according as their speed is lower (than the rate defined above).

261-63. The circle that is to be made for training the horse is of the highest class if one thousand *châpas* in circumference, is medium if half that size; inferior if half that, small if only one hundred *dhanus* in size, and very small if half that.

[3]264-65. The trainer should daily increase the movement or speed of the horse by exercises within the circular ring in such a way that it can run one hundred yojanas in a day.

266-67. One should ride the horse in the morning and evening in October and November, winter and spring, in the evening in summer, in the morning in autumn.

268. One should not use the horse in the rainy season nor on uneven grounds.

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[1] स्थाने at the proper place. The proper places are mentioned below.

[2] धनुः—4 Cubits. 100 dhanus make 400 cubits or 200 yards.

मात्रा—a period of time. 10 mâtrâs=4 seconds.

$\therefore$ 16 mâtrâs $= \frac{4 \times 16}{10} = 6.4$ seconds.

$\therefore$ in 1 hour, about 64 miles. The rate seems to be exaggerated.

[3] योजन—4 miles. 100 Yojanas make 400 miles. But how does this rate tally with that given in 1, 259?

269. The appetite, strength, prowess and health of the horse are promoted by well-regulated movements.

270-71. The horse that has got fatigue through work should be given a slight* stroll for sometime, then should be fed upon sugar and powdered grains mixedwith water.

272-73. The horse should be given peas or grains, *mâsha*, *mungs*, both dry and wet, as well as well-cooked meat.

274. One should not use the whip at the places which have been wounded.

275-78. In the interest of its strength the horse should be given *gur* and salt just after work before the saddle and fittings are brought down. Then when the sweat has disappeared and it has stood calm and quiet the horse should be relieved of its fittings and reins.

279-80. The horse should be made to stroll in the dust after its limbs have been rubbed, and carefully tended with baths, drinks and foods.

281. Wines and juices of forest or wild animals take away all the defects of horses.

282. The horse should be made to take milk, ghee, water and powdered grains.

283-84. If the horse be made to carry burden just after taking food and drink, it soon contracts coughs and gasps and other diseases.

[1]285-86. Barley and pea constitute the best food for horses, *mâsha* and *makushtha* are good, *masur* and *mungs* are inferior stuff.

[2]287-88. The movements of horses are of six kinds—*dhârâ*, *âskandita*, *rechita*, *pluta*, *dhauritaka*, *valgita* ; each has it own characteristics.

289. The *dhârâ* gait is known to be that which is very fast, in the midst of which a horse would get puzzled if spurred with the heels.

291-92. The *âskandita* movement of horses is known to be that in which the horse contracts its forelegs and runs with rapid leaps.

293. The *rechita* movement is that with short leaps but continuous.

294. The *pluta* movement is that in which the horse leaps with all the four legs like the deer.

295-96. The *dhauritaka* movement is rapid movement with uncontracted legs very useful in drawing chariot.

297-98. The *valgita* movement is that in which the horse runs with contracted legs, neck raised like that of the peacock, and half the body trembling.

[1] Several country grains, mainly pulses are mentioned here.

[2] These technical terms are being explained below.

299-300. In bulls the circumference of the belly is four times that of the face, the height or stature together with the hump is three times the face and the length is three times and a half of the face.

301. The bull that is seven *tâlas* in height is appreciated if possessing all these attributes.

302-3. The bull that is neither idle nor wicked but a good beast for carrying burden, has a well-formed body and a good back, is the best of all.

304-5. The camel that is strong-built, has a good face, is nine *tâlas* in stature, carries burden and goes thirty *yojanas* a day, is appreciated.

306-7. The age of one hundred years is the maximum for men and elephants.

307. The young age of both men and elephants extends up to the twentieth year.

308-9. The middle age of man extends up to the sixtieth year, that of elephants to the eightieth.

310-1. The maximum age of horses is thirty-four years. That of bulls and camels is twenty-five years.

[1]312-3. The young age of horses, bulls and camels extends up to the fifth year. Their middle age extends up to the sixteenth year, old age since then.

314. The age of both bulls and horses is to be known from the growth and colour of teeth.

[2]315-20. In the first year of horses six white teeth grow. In the second year the lower teeth get black and red. In the third year both the front teeth become black and this goes on till the sixth year. In the fourth year the two teeth by the side of the two front teeth are replaced by new teeth. In the fifth year the last two (molar) teeth are replaced and these blacken from the sixth year.

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[1] The following table gives these distinctions between the various periods of life, *viz.* youth, manhood, old age, as pertaining to men, elephants, &c.

	Maximum age.	Youth.	Middle age.
Man	100 years	20 years	60 years
Elephant	100 „	20 „	80 „
Horse	34 „	5 „	16 „
Bull	25 „	5 „	16 „
Camel	25 „	5 „	16 „

[2] Thus in the course of five years the whole dental structure of horses is replaced. With the replacement of the natal teeth infancy is closed and middle age begins.

321-24. The teeth gradually yellow from the ninth year and whiten from the twelfth year, become transparent like glass from the fifteenth year, have the hue of honey from the eighteenth year and of conch from the twenty-first year. The last continues till the twenty-fourth.

[1]325. Since twenty-fourth year the teeth get loose and separated, and begin to fall down in threes.

326-27. The horse that has attained full age gets three circular rows on the upper lip. The age is to be considered low in proportion as the rows are less.

[2]328-29. The bad horses are those that throw kicks, make sounds with lips, shake their backs, tend to go down into water, suddenly stop in the midst of a movement, lie down on the back, move backwards and leap up.

330. As well as those that have snake-like tongues, the colour of bears, and are timid in character.

[3]331. The horse that has a mark on the forehead disfigured by a minute blot (of another colour) is depreciated, as well as that which tears asunder the ropes.

332-35. All the eight white teeth of bulls grow in their fourth year. Two extreme (molar) teeth fall down and are replaced in the fifth year: in the sixth year the next two, in the seventh the next two, and in the eighth the central two.

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[1] The changes in colour of horse's teeth as indicated in ll. 315-25 are given below :—

Age	Colour.
1st year	white.
2nd year	black and red.
3rd year—6th year	black.
6th—9th year	black.
9th—12th year	yellow.
12th—15th year	white.
15th—18th year	glass.
18th—21st year	honey.
21st—24th year	conch.

[2] These are some of the vicious habits of wicked horses.

[3] छिद्र hole in the तिलक (mark) on the भाल (forehead). The hole here is a spot or blot of another colour which disfigures तिलक or main mark on the brow.

पाशयकृत् which cuts the means of keeping the horse under control, *e. g.*, destroys the fastenings, fittings, ropes, posts, reins, &c.

[1]336-37. Every two years the teeth get black, yellow, white, red and conch-like in order. Then their looseness and fall commence.

[2]338. The age of camels also has to be understood from considerations like these.

339-40. The hook with two mouths, one for movement forward and the other for movement backward has to be used in controlling the elephant. The driver should use this instrument for regulating the movements of the animal.

341-44. [Description of the bridle or reins]. The horse is to be controlled by such a bridle.

[3]345. The bull and the camel have to be governed by strings with which the nose can be pulled.

346. An instrument with seven sharp teeth is to be used in cleansing (or rubbing) these animals.

347-48. Men as well as beasts have to be always governed by adequate punishments. The soldiers have to be controlled by special methods not by fines.

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[1] Each colour lasts for two years. As all the teeth get finally replaced in eight years, the colour changes up to the 18th year (2 years for every colour).

[2] In ll. 77-338 we have been supplied with studies of animals for domestic as well as military use. The eleborate details about their size, shape, proportion of limbs, feeding, training, age, movements, medical treatment etc. though not quite relevant in a treatise on purely political subjects, are however called for according to the scope of the subject-matter which the author has taken up for himself. *Sukraniti* is a very comprehensive work as all Hindu social and human treatises are. As such it deals with all matters that directly or indirectly concern the main subject, *viz.*, the promotion of human and social well-being.

The whole sub-section on the Animal—Force of the Military Department of the State gives a concrete picture of the exact manner in which the War establishment is governed. The various sciences and practical arts connected with the life-history, habits, habitats, food, diseases, external and internal characteristics have all been laid under contribution, and the account is incidentally suggestive of the vast knowledge of the animal world that the Hindus displayed in the specialised treatises, if any, on the animals. Zoology, Veterinary Science, at any rate, their practical, aspects must have been highly developed, thus testifying to the genius of the Hindus for the inductive sciences of the physical, objective world. Some of these Biological treatises of the Hindus *e.g.*, those on elephants, plants etc. have already acquired celebrity in connection with Ayurveda. In order that full justice may be done to the achievements of the Hindu sages in physical sciences those specialised treatises have to be edited and published. Works like *Sukraniti* can only suggest and indicate the lines of inquiry by pointing to or hinting at the existence of Hindu scientific works of a really technical character dealing with animals, minerals, and vegetables of the earth.

[3] The instruments by which the animals are governed in their movements are the hook, the bridle and the strings.

349-50. The horses and bulls are well kept in watered lands, the camels and elephants in forests, the foot soldiers in ordinary or public places.

351. The ruler should station one hundred soldiers at every *yojana.*

[1]352-53. The elephant, the camel, the bull, the horse are excellent beasts of burden in the descending order. Carriages are the best of all conveyances except in the rainy season.

354-55. The ruler should never proceed with a small army even against an insignificant enemy. The wise should never use the very raw recruits even though they are in great numbers.

[2]356-57. The untrained, inefficient and the raw recruits are all like bales of cotton. The wise should appoint them to other tasks besides warfare.

[3]358-59. The weak ones desert the fields when they fear loss of life. But the strong ones, who are capable of causing *vikâra* or flight, do not.

360-61. The man who has no valour cannot stand a fight even if he has a vast army. Can he stand the enemy with a small one ?

362-63. The valorous man however can overpower the enemy with a small but well-trained army. What can he not achieve if he has a large army (at his back)?

364-65. The king should proceed against the enemy with the standing or old, trained and efficient troops. The veteran army does not desire to leave the master even at the point of death.

366-67. Alienation (of soldiers) is caused by harsh words, diminution of wages, threats, and constant life and work in foreign lands.

368-69. Since there can be no success if the army be disaffected, one should always study the causes of disaffection or alienation of the army belonging to oneself and also to the enemy.

370-71. The king should always by gifts and artifices promote alienation or disaffection among the enemy's troops.

372-73. One should satisfy the very powerful enemy by service and humiliation, serve the strong ones by honours and presents, and the weak ones by wars.

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[1] प्राक् previous ones are superior to the succeeding.

[2] Here is a very strong advice against the use of raw inexpert recruits (like volunteers improvised for the occasion) in any warfare, even if the enemy be really very insignificant.

[3] विकारः to do quite contrary to what one is expected to do, here deserting the field.

[1]374. He should win over the equals by alliance or friendship and subjugate all by the policy of separation.

375. There is no other means of subjugating the foe except by causing disaffection among their soldiers.

[2]376-77. One should follow *niti* or the moral rules so long as one is powerful. People remain friends till then; just as the wind is the friend of the burning-fire.

378-79. Deserters from the enemy should not be placed near the main army. They have to be employed separately (in other works) and in wars should be used first.

380. The allies' troops may be placed in the front, at the back or the wings.

381-82. *Astra* is that which is thrown or cast down by means of charms, machines or fire. *Sastra* is any other weapon, *e.g.*, sword, dagger, *kunta* &c.

[3]383-85. *Astra* is of two kinds, charmed or tubular. The king who desires victory should use tubular where the charmed does not exist, together with the *sastras*.

386-87. People expert in military instruments know of diverse agencies named *astras* and *sastras* varying according to short or large size and the nature and mode of the sharp edges.

388. The *nâlika* (tubular or cylindrical) *astra* is known to be of two kinds according to large or small size.

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[1] भेद or policy of separation by which the army is alienated with the ruler, the people estranged from the sovereign, the friends get rivalries &c. is the most powerful weapon to be used by a king. It is the universal engine for overpowering enemies and controlling friends and neutrals. The advice given in these lines is too obvious.

[2] The great question whether Might should follow Right or Right Might has ever been debatable. In all questions of practical politics, adaptation to the environment in order to promote the interests of one's own national culture, and the employment of all those means which lead to that are the recognised maxims of statesmen. So that the doctrine of Machiavelli about Political Morality is, after all, the only certain and universal truth. Sukrâchâryya's advice that Right or Morality shines well only when and as long as there is might, just as wind blows vehement only when and as long as the fire is burning powerfully, finds its counterpart in âll doctrines of political 'expediency' that have been preached in the world in various guises since time immemorial. In order that you may attract friends and display your morality you must be powerful. In other words, Might is the Right. *Sukraniti* has never advocated the principles of universal truth and absolute morality. These depend on the exigencies of circumstances, the sole standard always being the promotion of social well-being.

[3] नालिक The instrument which has a tube or cylinder &c., mechanical

[1]389-94. The short or small *nâlika* is the cylindrical instrument to be used by infantry and cavalry, having an oblique (horizontal) and straight (perpendicular) hole at the origin (breech), the length of five *vitastis* (two cubits and a half), a sharp point (tila) both at the forefront (muzzle) and at the origin, which can be used in marking the objective, which has fire produced by the pressure of a machine, contains stone and powder at the origin has a good wooden handle at the top, (butt) has an inside hole of the breadth of the middle finger, holds gunpowder in the interior and has a strong rod.

[2]395-96. The instrument strikes distant objects according as the bamboo or bark is thick and hollow and the balls are long and wide.

[3]397-99. The large *nâlika* is that which has a post or wedge at the origin or breech, and according to its movements, can be pointed towards the aim, has a wooden frame and is drawn on carriages; if well used, it leads to victory.

[4]400-404. Five *palas* of *suvarchi* salt, one *pala* of sulphur, and one *pala* of charcoal from the wood of *arka, snuhi* and other trees burnt in a manner that prevents the escape of Smoke *e.g.*, in a closed vessel have to be purified, powdered, and mixed together, then dissolved in the juices of *snuhi, arka* and garlic, then dried up by heat, and finally powered like sugar. The substance is gunpowder.

[5]405-406. Six or four parts of *suvarchi* salt may also be used in the preparation of gunpowder. Sulphur and charcoal would remain the same.

[6]407 408. The balls are made of iron with other substances inside

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[1] The description tallies with that of a modern gun, the great presumption being that the lines are interpolations.

ग्राव stones, बुध्न handle. अग्निचूर्णं gunpowder, मध्याङ्गुल &c. the hole must be such that the middle finger can penetrate it. बिलान्तर space within the hole (barrel).

[2] त्वक्सार bamboo or bark. It seems that the cylindrical instrument is made of bamboo. But *cf.* ll. 409-10. Distance or of the aim depends on the length &c. of balls as well as diameter of the instrument.

[3] Here is the description of a cannon.

[4] The chemical composition of gunpowder is given here. *Suvarchi* is a salt like alum. अन्तर्धूम which keeps the Smoke inside.—Is it the process of "Destructive Distillation"?

The proportion of the constituents :—

Salt ...	...	5 parts
Sulphur	...	1 part
Charcoal	...	1 part

The above mixture + juices of plants give the desired object.

[5] Here is another preparation. The substances are the same, but the quantity of salt to be used varies.

[6] It appears the iron balls are made for cannon.

or without any such substance. For lesser *nâlas* or guns the balls are made of lead or any other metal.

409-410. The *nâlâstras* may be made of iron or of some other metal, have to be rubbed and cleansed daily and covered by armed men.

[1]411-15. Experts make gunpowders in various ways and of white and other colours according to the relative quantities of constituents :— charcoal, sulphur, *suvarchi*, stones, *harital*, lead, *hingul*, iron filings, camphor, *jatu*, indigo, juice of *sarala* tree, &c.

416-17. The balls in the instruments are flung at the aim by the touch of fire.

418. The instrument has to be first cleaned, then the gunpowder has to be put in, then it is to be placed lightly at the origin of the instrument by means of the rod. Then the ball has to be introduced, then the gunpowder at the ear. Fire is next to be applied to this powder, and the ball is projected towards the objective.

422-23. The arrow is to be two cubits in length and to be so arranged that it can pierce the object when flung from the bow-string.

424. The mace is to be octagonal (in shape), to have a strong handle, and high up to the breast.

425. The *pattisha* is long as the human body, has sharp edges on both sides, and a handle.

426. The *ekadhâra* is slightly curved and four *angulas* in width.

427. The *ksharaprânta* is high to the navel, has a strong first, and the lustre of the moon.

428. The dagger is four cubits, has a rod as the handle and is edged like the razor.

429. The *kunta* is ten cubits flat and has a handle like *sanku* or stick.

[2]430. The wheel is six cubits in cirumference, has razor-like edge and a good centre.

431. The *pisha* is a rod three cubits long, with three sharp needles, and an iron rope.

432-33. The *kavacha* or armour is the protection for the upper limb, has the helmet for covering the head, is made of iron sheet about the thickness of wheat.

434. The *karaja* is a strong arm that is made of iron and has a keen edge.

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[1] कान्तरजस: dusts or filings or powders of iron. समन्यूनाधिक: according as the parts of the constituents are equal to, less or greater than, (the fixed proportion)

[2] The चक्र is whirled from the नाभि or centre.

435-37. The king who is provided with good supplies, is endowed with the 'six attributes' of Statecraft, and equipped with sufficient arms and ammunitions, should desire to fight. Otherwise he gets misery and dethroned from the kingdom.

[1]438-39. The affair that two parties, who have inimical relations with each other, undertake by means of arms to satisfy their rival interests is known as warfare.

440-41. The *daivika* warfare is that in which charms are used, the *Âsura* that in which the mechanical instruments are used, the human warfare that in which *sastras* and *hands* are used.

442-3. There may be a fight of one with many, of many with many, of one with one, or of two with two.

444-45. The ruler who wants to fight should carefully consider the season, the region, the enemy's strength, one's own strength, the four-fold policy and the six attributes of Statecraft.

446-48. The autumn, *hemanta* (October and November) and winter are the best seasons for warfare. The spring is good, the worst is the summer. In the rainy reason war is not at all appreciated, peace is desirable then.

[2]449-50. When the king is well provided with military requirements and master of a sufficiently strong army, the season is soul-inspiring and foreboder of good.

[3]451. If very urgent business arise the season is not auspicious.

452. One should place the Lord of the universe in the heart (when going out on an expedition).

[4]453. There are no rules about time or season in cases created by the killing of cows, women and Brahmans.

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[1] युद्ध War defined. The conditions of warfare are the following—(1) two parties inimical to each other, (2) furtherance of some ends, (3) use of arms.

[2] The idea is that no consideration of time need detain the man who is sure of his position and strength as regards troops and supplies.

[3] Even if otherwise the time be good for war, *i.e.*, if the seasons and weather be favourable, the ruler should not necessarily be tempted to undertake war. He should first look to more important and pressing business at home. Thus in ll. 449-51 Sukrâchâryya is advocating the theory that the man is the maker of his time, he should study his own conveniences and never be swayed by purely physical considerations of seasons, weather, climate, &c.

[4] Here, again, the physical considerations of time and season do not hold good.

[1]454-55. That country is excellent in which there are facilities for the regular parade and exercises of one's own soldiers at the proper time but there are none for those of the foe.

456-57. That country is said to be good which provides equal facilities for military exercises to the troops of both parties in a contest.

[2]458-59. That region is the worst is which the enemy's troops get ample grounds for parade and exercise but ones' own troops get none.

460-61. If the enemy's army be onethird less than one's own troops or untrained, inefficient and raw recruits, the circumstances would lead to success.

[3]462-63. One's own army that has been maintained as children, and rewarded by gifts and honours and is well supplied with war provisions does lead to victory.

[4]464-65. The six attributes of statecraft are known to be peace, war, expedition, taking cover or besieging, refuge, and duplicity.

466-67. Those actions by which the powerful foe becomes friendly constitute *sandhi* or treaty. That should be carefully studied.

468-69. That is said to be *vigraha* or war by which the enemy is oppressed and subjugated. The king should study this with his councillors.

470. A *Yâna* is expedition for the furtherance of one's own objects and destruction of the enemy's interests.

[5]471. An *âsana* is said to be that from which oneself can be protected and the enemy is destroyed.

472. The *âsraya* or refuge is said to be that by which even the weak becomes powerful.

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[1] Having described the proper time for warfare Sukrâchâryya is dwelling upon the battle-fields or zones of military operations. In doing so he is remarking upon the physical advantages and disadvantages of various regions from the military standpoint. That field is certainly the best which while giving oneself every possible vantage ground deprives the enemy of the same.

[2] Having described the काल and देश to be considered by a ruler before commencing military operations, Sukrâchâryya is in the following lines giving an account of the points to be noted in measuring the strength of the army or सेनाबल

[3] In ll. 464-65 Sukrâchâryya is describing the षड्गुण or six attributes of Statecraft that have to be considered before beginning an expedition.

[4] Each of these terms is being explained below.

[5] आसन something like 'lying in ambush' or 'taking cover,' or perhaps besieging as described in 570—711 &c.

[1]473. The *dwaidheebhâva* is the stationing of one's troops in several regiments.

[2]474-75. When the king has been attacked by a powerful enemy and is unable to counteract him by any means, he should desire peace in a dilatory manner.

[3]476-77. There is only one treaty or peace desired by people, that is gifts. Everything else besides alliance is a species of gifts.

478-79. The aggressor never returns without receiving something because of his might, for without gifts there is no other form of peace.

480. Gifts should be given according to the strength of the adversary. Service should even be accepted, or the daughter, wealth and property may be given away.

481. In order to conquer enemies peace should be made even with one's own feudatories.

482-83. Peace should be made even with the *anâryas* for (otherwise) they can overpower the ruler by attack.

[4]484. Just as a cluster of bamboos cannot be destroyed if surrounded by thick thorny trees, so the ruler should be like a bamboo surrounded by clusters.

[5]486-87. Peace should be made with the very powerful, war with the equal and expedition (aggression) against the weak; but to friends should be granted refuge as well as residence in forts.

488-89. The wise should make peace with the powerful if there be danger, and protect oneself at the proper time if the foes be many.

[6]490-91. There is no precedent or rule that war should be undertaken with a powerful enemy. The cloud never moves against the current of the wind.

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[1] Perhaps the object of this division into groups is to show the enemy that the army is not very powerful in number.

[2] In ll. 474–95 we have what may be called the Law of Nations regarding Peace in modern European treatises on International Law.

[3] Every treaty takes one or other form of transfer of property or valuables.

[4] The feudatory chiefs and अनार्य or barbarian races, forest tribes, &c., are here compared with the thorns surrounding a big tree which make access to it difficult. Sukrâchâryya is advocating the expediency of converting these into friends. The wise ruler should make good use of these forces by concessions, grants and rewards &c. So that in times of emergency these may stand him in good stead by making the enemy's progress impossible. What are generally ignored as insignificant or worthless should be regarded by the statesmen as important sources of the State's strength.

[5] *Cf.* l. 580 where two clases o आश्रय are mentioned.

[6] It is never safe to measure strength with a giant.

492. Prosperity never desorts a man who bows down to the powerful at the proper time, just as rivers never leave the downward course.

[1]494-95. The king should never trust the enemy even after concluding peace. Thus Indra killed Vritra in days of yore during the truce time.

[2]496-97. One should commence warfare when one is attacked and oppressed by some body, or even only when one desires prosperity, provided one is well placed as regards time, region and army.

498-500. The king should surround and coerce the ruler whose army and friends have been lessened, who is in the fortress, who has come upon him as enemy, who is very much addicted to sense-pleasures, who is the plunderer of people's goods, and whose ministers and troops have been disaffected.

501. That is known to be *vigraha*, any other thing is *kalaha* or mere quarrel.

502-503. One with a small army should never undertake a *vigraha* or engage in war with a valorous man backed by a powerful army. If, however, that be done, his destruction is inevitable.

[3]504. The cause of *kalaha* or quarrel or contention is the exclusive demand (of rivals) for the same thing.

505. When there is no other remedy *vigraha* or war should be undertaken.

[4]506-507. *Yânas* or expeditions are known by experts to be of five kinds—*Vigrihya*, *Sandhâya*, *Sambhuya*, *Prasanga*, and *Upekshyâ*.

508-509. The *Vigrihya* expedition is known by masters proficient in the subject to be that in which the army proceeds by gradually overpowering groups of enemies.

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[1] सन्धि temporary cessation of hostilities, armistice or truce, during which all military operations should cease.

Sukráchâryya is not a believer in the words of treaties. He rather advises rulers to follow the maxim that truces are to be kept only so long as it is convenient. or 'exppedient.' He quotes instances from *Puurânik* history where even the greatest personalities did not scruple to violate solemn pledges in order to serve their interests.

[2] There are no fixed occasions for warfare. These are to be sought or created by the ambitious ruler. He is to catch time by the forelock and always be ready for aggression or defence as need be.

[3] When both parties display extraordinary earnestness for attaining the same object there is a strife inevitable.

[4] Each of these technical terms is being explained below.

[1]510-11. Or *Vigrihya* expedition is that in which one's own friends fight wtih the adversary's friends on all sides, and the main army proceeds against the enemy.

[2]512-13. The *Sandhâya* expedition of the man desiring victory is that which proceeds after peace is made with certain supporters of the enemy.

514-15. The *Sambhuya* expedition is that which proceeds under the king aided by feudatories skilled in warfare well equipped with physical and moral resources.

[3]516-17. The *Prasanga* expedition is that which begins against a certain objective but incidentally proceeds against another.

518-19. The *Upekshya* expedition is that which neglects the enemy and retreats after encountering adverse fate.

520. If the king (is generous and) rewards (well), the army becomes attached to him though his conduct is unrighteous and he comes of a low family.

521-22. The ruler should pacify his own troops by gifts of rewards and should go ahead accompanied by heroic guards.

[4]523. In the centre should be placed the family, treasure and valuables.

524. He should always carefully protect his army.

525-26. The commander should march in well-arrayed regiments wherever difficulties arise on the way through rivers, hills, forests and forts.

527-28. If there be danger ahead the commander should march in the great *makara* or crocodile array, or the *shyena* or bird array which has two wings or the *shuchi* (needle)-array which has a sharp mouth.

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[1] Two kinds of *Vigrihya Yána* are described :—

(1) When the expedition proceeds through a series of fights and skirmishes with enemies on the way.

(2) When one's own allies are induced to fight with the enemy's allies, and the party proceeds against the enemy. In this case no party can have recourse to allies in the principal contest.

[2] पार्ष्णिग्राह those who take the back, *i.e*, supporters. These supporters are therefore the enemy's allies.

[3] There is a sleight in warfare. If instead of attacking the professed or ostensible object the party marches against another, there is a case of *Prasanga Yána.*

[4] फल्गु great, precious.

[1]529-31. If there be danger behind, the *shakata* (carriage)-array, if on the sides the vajra (thunder) array, if on all sides the *sarvatobhadra* (octagonal) or *chakra* (wheel) or *vyâla* (snake) array. Or the array should be determined according to the nature of the region in such a way as to pierce the enemy's army.

[2]532-33. None besides one's own troops are to know the signs for the formation of battle-'orders' communicated by means of bugle sounds.

534-35. The wise should always devise diverse forms of battle array for horses, elephants and footsoldiers.

536-37. The king should order the soldiers aloud by signs of battle-order from a station on the right or left, in the centre or in the front.

538. Having heard those orders the troops are to carry out the instructions.

539-40. Grouping, expansion, circling, contraction, straight movement, rapid march, backward movement,

541-43. Forward movement in rows, standing erect, lying down, standing like octagon, wheel, needle, carriage, half moon,

544-45. Separation in parts, standing in serial rows, holding the arms and weapons, fixing the aim, and striking the objective,

[3]546-47. Flinging of missiles, striking by weapons, swift use of arms,

548-49. Self-defence, counteraction by movements of limbs or use of arms and weapons, movements in rows of two, three or four,

[4]550. Movement forward or backward or sidewards.

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[1] व्यूह battle array, the form or order in which the troops are arranged or stationed in the battle-field. Eight species are enumerated here—classified according to the nature of the obstacle to be encountered, *e.g.*, dangers ahead, behind, on the sides or on all sides.

The Battle arrays :

I. Danger ahead :—(1) Crocodile.
(2) Bird.
(3) Needle.

II. Danger behind : (1) Vehicle.

III. Danger on the sides :—(1) Thunder.

IV. Danger on all sides :—(1) Octagonal.
(2) Wheel.
(3) Snake.

[2] The technique of bugles is a military secret.

[3] द्राक् rapid, instantaneous.

[4] Having enumerated the 8 *vyuhas* or Battle-orders in ll. 525-531, Sukrâchâryya has in ll. 539-550 enumerated about 30 different purposes for which these are formed.

551. In throwing a missile, movement forward or backwards is necessary.

552. The soldier stationed in the battle-array should always fling the missile by moving forward.

553. Just after throwing the arm the soldier should sit down or move forward.

554-55. Having seen the enemy in the sitting posture the troops should cast their own arms by moving forward in ones or twos or groups as ordered.

556-57. The *krauncha* (pigeon) array is to be formed according to the nature of the region and the troops in the same rows as the movements of pigeons in the sky.

[1]558. It is that order in which the neck is thin, the tail medium, and the wings thick.

559. The *shyena* or bird order is that in which the wings are large, the throat and tail medium, and the mouth small.

560. The *makara* or crocodile order is that which has four legs, long and thick mouth and two lips.

561. The *suchi* or needle order has a thin mouth, is a long rod and has a hole at the end.

562. The *chakra* array has one passage and has eight concentric rings.

563. The *sarvatobhadra* array is the battle order which has eight sides in all directions.

564. The wheel array has no passage, has eight concentric rings and faces in all directions.

[2]565. The carriage-array has the aspect of a vehicle, and the snake array that of a snake.

[3]566-67. The ruler should devise one, two or more of these *vyûhas* or a mixture of them according to the number of troops and the character of roads and battle-fields.

568-569. One should lie with troops at those places whence the enemy's army can be onerpowered by arms and weapons. The condition is called *âsana*.

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[1] The pigeon-array is the ninth form of battle-order.

[2] In ll. 556-565 the nine *vyûhas* have been described and explained.

[3] It is to be noted that the *vyûhas* have been described incidentally in connexion with expeditions, one of he षड्गुण or six attributes of Statecraft.

[1]570-571. From the manœuvre of *âsana* one should destroy carefully those people who help the enemy by carrying wood, water and provisions.

[2]572-573. One should subjugate the enemy through protracted processes by which provisions are cut short, food and fuel are diminished, and the subjects are oppressed.

574-575. When in a war both the enemy and the aggressor have got tired they seek cessation from hostilities. The state is called *sandhâya âsana* or truce.

576-577. When one has been overpowered by the enemy and does not find any remedy to counteract the defeat he should seek refuge with a powerful ruler who is truthful, honest, and has good family connexions.

[3]578. The friends, relatives and kinsfolk are the allies of the aggressors. Other rulers are either paid friends or sharers in the spoils of victory.

[4]580. That is said to be *âsraya*, as well as forts.

[5]581-3. When the ruler is not sure of the methods of work to be adopted, and is waiting for the opportune time, he should have resort to duplicity like the crow's eye and display one move but really adopt another.

584-587. Even ordinary people get their desired objects through good methods, good policies, and persevering efforts, cannot the princes? A work can be successful only through efforts, not through mere wish. Thus the elephant does not of itself enter the mouth of the sleeping lion.

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[1] *Âsana* thus seems to be equivalent to laying siege to a town. The aggressor is to take such a stand that from his place he can reconnoitre the grounds round about (परितः, आरात्), prevent the entrance of allies or reinforcements with provisions, and also pour down arms and missiles upon the enemy besieged. That आसन is a siege would be clear from the following lines.

[2] The processes described are those of a regular and obstinate siege which compels the defendants to submit on any terms.

[3] Two classes of allies—those (1) who volunteer their services, and (2) who have to be paid or promised booty. One may seek shelter with both these classes.

[4] Refuge or shelter (*âsraya*) is thus of two kinds—(1) human, as described above, (2) physical forts.

[5] काकाक्षि The crow has only one pupil, but it moves through both eyes. So the same man is to follow both purposes at the same time, this, however, unnoticed अलक्षित as the crow's pupil.

Lines 568-83 contain suggestions about the time when each of the six principles of policy have to be adopted, *e.g.*, truce, siege, etc.

[1]588-90. Even the hard iron can by proper methods be converted into a liquid. It is also a noted fact that water extinguishes fire. By the man who exerts, fire can be extinguished.

591. It is policy by which the feet can be placed on the head of elephants.

[2]592. Separation is the best of all methods or policies of work, and *samâsraya* or refuge is the best of the six attributes of Statecraft. Both these are to be adopted by the aggressor who wants success. Without these two the king should never commence military operations.

[3]595-6. He should adopt such means as lead to rivalry or conflict between the Commander-in-chief and Councillors of the enemy, and strife among their subjects or women.

[4]597-98 One should always study the policies as well as six attributes of Statecraft concerning both parties, and embark upon a war if death or universal plunder have been the antecedent circumstances.

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[1] The instance of the liquefaction of iron is suggestive of some metallurgical operation prevalent in ancient times.

[2] The king should be strong is his use of भेदनीति or the Policy of Separation or Partition by which the enemy may be weakened or dismembered, and he should be strong in his allies or friends with whom he can take refuge in emergency. Note the distinction between the four *upâyas* or policies and *shadgunas* or the six attributes.

[3] This is the *Bheda upâya* or Policy of Partition. It should always be the policy to foment civil dissensions among the enemy, *e.g.* by promoting rivalry between the Civil and Military heads. *Cf.* Louis XIV's policy towards the Stuart Kings of England.

[4] The six attributes of Statecraft are :—

1. Peace—सन्धि
2. War—विग्रह
3. Expedition—(i) विगृह्य
   (ii) सन्धाय
   (iii) सम्भूय
   (iv) प्रसङ्ग
   (v) उपेक्ष्य
4. Taking cover or Besieging आसन
5. Refuge समाश्रय
6. Duplicity द्वैधीभाव

Sukrâchâryya has in ll. 464-598 narrated in brief what is considered to be the Law of Belligerents. The Law of Nations regarding Friends, Foes, Neutrals, Expeditions, Treaties, Truces, Battles, Capitulations as described here is sufficiently elaborate and practical. The discription of Battle-arrays in connection with that of Expeditions as well as the purposes to which each is adapted indicates perfect mastery over the art of field-marshalling and military manœuvres. The whole of this Section of *Sukraniti* in fact corresponds to those chapters of modern Text-books on International Law which deal with War generally, especially war on land, and discuss such questions as the characteristics of war, causes, kinds and ends of war, armed forces of belligerents, regions of war, &c.

599. Even Brahmanas should fight if there have been aggressions on women and priests or there has been killing of cows.

600. One should not desist from the fight if it has once commenced.

601. The man who runs away from battle is surely killed by the gods.

602-3. The king who protects subjects should in pursuance of the Kshatriya's duties never desist from a fight if called to it by an equal, superior or inferior.

[1]604-5. The earth swallows the king who does not fight and the Brahman who does not go abroad, just as the snake swallows the animals living in the holes.

[2]606-7. The life of even the Brahman who fights when attacked is praised in this world, for the virtue of a Kshatriya is derived also from Brahma.

[3]608. The death of Kshatriyas in the bed is a sin.

[4]609-10. The man who gets death with an unhurt body by excreting cough and biles and crying aloud is not a Kshatriya. Men learned in ancient history do not praise such a state of things.

612. Death in the home except in a fight is not laudable.

[5]613. Cowardice is a very miserable sin in valorous people.

[6]614-15. The Kshatriya who retreats with a bleeding body after sustaining defeat in battles and is encircled by family members deserves death.

616-17. Kings who valorously fight and kill each other in battles are sure to attain heaven.

618-19. He also gets eternal bliss who fights for his master at the head of the army and does not shrink through fear.

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[1] These are contemptible creatures who deserve destruction. The cowardly king and the untravelled Brahman are not worth their names and have no reason to live on earth.

[2] So fighting is also prescribed among the duties of Brahmans.

[3] The very connotation of the term Kshatriya, says Sukra, is to die anywhere else except in the home bed : just as that of the Brahman is to travel abroad begging alms and spreading knowledge &c.

[4] The proper death for a Kshatriya is that on the battle-field in open warfare. The most disgraceful for him is that through disease and physical ailments. He should by all means avoid the natural death that removes ordinary people from the surface of the earth.

[5] Warriors should always live valorous, should die valorous deaths, *e. g.*, in battles. Even the last moments of their lives should be spent valorously.

[6] This dictum of Sukrâchâryya would certainly appear to be a chip from Spartan and Bushido morality. The rules of militaryism or Kshatriyaism are the same in all lands and climes. The deserter and the failed warrior have no place in society and family circle.

620-21. People should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed in battles. The man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven.

[1]622-23. The fairies of the other world vie with each other in reaching the warrior who is killed in battles in the hope that he be their husband.

[2]624-25. The great position that is attained by the sages after long and tedious penances is immediately reached by warriors who meet death in warfare.

[3]626-7. This is at once penance, virtue and eternal religion. The man who does not fly from a battle does at once perform the duties of all the four *Âsramas.*

628-29. There is no other thing besides valour in all the three worlds. It is the valorous man who protects the universe, it is in him that eveything finds its stay.

630-31. The immovables are the food of the mobiles, the toothless of the toothed creatures, the armless of the armed, the cowards of the valiant.

[4]632-33. In this world two men can go beyond the solar sphere (*i.e.*, into heaven):—the austere missionary, and the man who is killed in the front in a fight.

634-35. One should protect oneself by killing even the learned Brahman and Guru in battle if they are inimical. This is the decree of *Śruti* or Vedas.

[5]636-37. The teachers are kind and the learned people are advocates of sinlessness. They should never be asked on occasions of great fear (*e.g.*, warfare).

[1] The *sanction* for the warrior's duties in life: (1) eternal bliss in heaven and enjoyment of all that it implies, (2) otherwise, perpetual ignominy and disgrace on earth.

[2] Here is a further temption for death in war.

[3] The high and exalted position of Rishis, acquired by meditation and penance, as well as the virtues of ideal householders who perform through life all the elaborate duties of the four stages of human existence, *viz.*, *Brahmacharyya*, *Gârhasthya*, *Vânaprastha* and *Sannyâsa*, are forthwith enjoyed by the warrior who bravely welcomes death in the battle-field. This single action is equivalent to any or all the possible duties to be performed by a man whether as *Rishi*, *Sannyâsi*, *Brahmachari*, or *Grihastha.*

[4] Two extraordinary men who deserve transcendental happiness are (1) the itinerant preacher who has got a vision of the eternal truths of the universe through processes of self-control and meditation on the Permanent Verities, and (2) the heroic warrior who meets death in the face (not on the back), *i.e.*, who has not to retreat like a coward but can coolly encounter the worst calamity.

[5] The advice of such people as are timid by nature and occupation should never be sought in matters that involve bloodshed &c.,

[1]638-39. Learned people are ornaments in places where they can discourse on diverse subjects, *e.g.*, in palaces, assemblies and cloisters.

[2]640-41. Learned people are ornaments in those places where they can perform various intellectual feats before large audiences in the matter of Sacrifice, Military Science, &c.,

[3]642-45. Learned people are ornaments also in the matter of finding out others' defects, studying human interests, and managing elephants, horses, chariots, asses, camels, goats and sheep, in the matters connected with cattle, wealth, roads, and *Swayamvara*, and in studying the defects of food and social practices.

646-48. One should disregard the " wise men" who extol the merits of the enemies, discover the purposes the adversary has in view, and without minding that destruction might befall the army (in case of war) should employ a (suitable) expedient that would destroy the enemy.

649-50. The Brahmana who appears with a murderous intent is as good as a Śudra. There can be no sin in killing one who comes with a murderous intent.

[4]651-52. One would not incur the sin of killing an embryonic child (*i.e.*, an infant) if one kills even an infant who has come upon him with weapon in hand. It is otherwise that one really perpetrates that offence.

[5]653-55. The sin of killing a Brahman does not touch the man who treats like a Kshatriya and kills the Brahman that fights with arm in hand and does not leave the battle-field.

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[1]They should grace those council-halls and discussion rooms, but must not interfere in executive affairs.

[2]Their proper function is study, discussion, talk, giving decision on subtle questions, solution of knotty problems of social or religious life etc. Let them preside there.

[3] All those affairs that require the knowledge of people trained in the sciences and arts should be left to the learned people for deliberation and advice. They are theorists and naturally have no place where the practical use of arms and limbs is concerned.

[4] These lines describe what in terms of modern International Law would be called *Enemy Character*. Any and every enemy is to be killed, even the Brahmana and the भ्रूण (embryonic child) or infant. Ordinary rules of Hindu *Sāstra* enjoin great purificatory penances on the man who kills a Brahmana or a भ्रूण But Sukrâchâryya's System of Military Morality keeps those rules in abeyance. These persons are to be treated as no better than ordinary enemies, the very moment they assume enemy character.

[5] The Brahman is no longer a Brahman, but in the first place a Kshatriya, and in the second place, has all the attributes of an enemy. The ordinary treatment of a belligerent is therefore to be meted out towards him.

656-57. The rascal who flies from a fight to save his life is really dead though alive, and endures the sins of the whole people.

658-59. The man who deserts the ally or the master and flies from the battle-field gets hell after death, and while alive is cried down upon by the entire people.

660-61. The man who sees his friend in distress and does not help him gets disrepute, and when dead goes to hell.

662-63. The wicked man who deserts one that seeks refuge with him in confidence goes to eternal hell so long as there are the fourteen Indras.

[1]664-65. The Brahmans should kill the Kshatriya when his practices are wicked. They do not incur sin even if they fight with arms and weapons in hand.

666-67. When, again the Kshatriyas have become effete, and the people are being oppressed by lower orders of men the Brahmanas should fight and extirpate them.

668-69. The war with charmed instruments is the best, that with mechanical is good, that with weapons inferior, that with hands is the worst.

670-71. That war with charmed instruments is known to be the best of all in which the foes are destroyed by arrows and other arms rendered powerful through being applied with charms.

672-73. The war with mechanical instruments leads to great destruction of the enemy in which balls are flung at the objective by the application of gunpowder in cylindrical fire-arms.

674-75. The war with weapons is that generally undertaken in the absence of fire-arms and other missiles, in which foes have to be killed by the use of *Kunta* swords and other weapons.

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[1] Sukrâchâryya, here again as usual, is not an advocate of absolute morality, but always prescribes duties that, though apparently conflicting or contradictory, are really called for by the needs of human life and social existence. Not Consistency but Truth is his great motto, and to him the greatest truth is the promotion of human well-being and social welfare. And as the interests of mankind are ever changing, and complexities are perpetually disturbing social order, Sukra does not scruple to be inconsistent and dictate duties at times which might appear grossly at variance with those prescribed on other occasions. Thus the Brahman who is ordinarily to abstain from the military profession, is in duty bound to accept that as the only call of religion and morality under grave circumstances. A society that is governed by such practical rules as these cannot but move and progress with the times and not only adapt itself to the varied requirements of the ages but also use the environment and world forces for its own purposes, in the interest of its own growth and development.

[1]676-77. The war with hands, *i. e.*, duel or hand-to-hand fight is that in which the adversary is overpowered by strong grasps and skilful attacks on the joints of limbs, &c., whether against or in line with the system of hair.

[2]678-82. Catching the hair by means of the left hand, throwing down on the earth by force, beating by the leg, *i.e.*, kicking on the head, pressing at the breast by knees, severe beating on the brow by bael-like (heavy) fists, elbowing, constant slappings, and moving about to find out the proper places of attack—these eight are the species of duelling.

[3]683-84. The Ksatriya should be attacked by four of these species, the worst Kshatriya by five, the Vaiśya by six, the Śûdra by seven, and the mixed castes by all the eight.

[4]685. These methods have to be applied to the enemies, never to the friends.

686-88. One should commence fight with any enemy whose ministers and army have got disaffected by placing the fire-arms both light and heavy in the front, the infantry just behind them, the elephants and horses in the wings.

689-91. The first skirmish is to be commenced by commanders with half the army in the front and the wings so long as the region favourable for warfare is not acquired.

[5]692-93. The war should then be undertaken by ministers with troops conducted by ministers, then finally by the king at the risk of his own life with troops commanded by the king.

[6]694-700. One should carefully protect one's troops but extirpate the enemy's, when they have got tired by long marches, or through

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[1] प्रतिलोम (motion) in the contrary direction and अनुलोम (motion) in the natural direction. The joints and other parts of the body have to be pulled in the contrary or natural directions (of movement or locomotion) as convenient, and bound or grasped powerfully ; So that the adversary may be quite motionless.

[2] कच Hair must have been long. The custom of lopping off the hair was not prevalent, it appears. मालूर Bael fruit.

[3] Laws of duelling. But it is not clear why only four or five of these 8 forms of hand-to-hand fight have to be applied in fighting some of the castes &c.

[4] Of course none of these engines of warfare, whether duels or other 3 kinds, are meant for friends or allies. The line is quite irrelevant.

[5] The main brunt to be borne (1) by the commander (2) by the councillor, (3) by the king in succession.

[6] When such natural calamities or unfavourable circumstances befall the enemy's troops, it is the opportune moment to commence operations against them. But if one's own army gets into this plight it would be most undiplomatic to leave it in that condition. Their anxieties must be removed and difficulties remedied.

hunger and thirst, when they are oppressed by disease, famine, hail-storms and thieves, when they have to suffer from impurities of mud and dirt in water, when they are gasping for breath, when they are asleep or engaged in taking food, when they are not in contact with the ground (*i.e.* have mounted tree, etc., etc.), when they are vacillating, when they are over-powered by fear of fire or attacked by wind and rain, and by such other dangers and difficulties.

701-2. Of all the dangers that are known by the wise to befall an army, the worst is *Bheda* (alienation or separation, or estrangement).

703-4. Even the *Maula* or standing or old army, if disaffected, is a source of dubious strength to the king. What to speak of the sundry recruits under disaffection?

705. One should always study the fourfold policy, the sixfold attributes of statecraft and the secrets of oneself as well as the enemy.

706. The enemy has to be killed in wars whether conducted according to the rules of morality or against them.

707-11. The king should increase the salary of the officers about a quarter in beginning the expedition, cover his own body during the fight by means of shield and panoply, make the soldiers drink invigorating wines, and employ in the battle those heroes who are enthusiastic and are certain of the issue and extirpate the foes by fire-arms, daggers and troops.

712-15. The horseman has to be attacked by the Kunta sword, the charioteer and the man on the elephant by arrow, the elephant by the elephant, the horse by the horse, the chariot by the chariot, the infantry by the infantry, one by one, the weapon by the weapon, the missile by the missile.

[1]716-21. One who follows the duties of good people should not kill the man who is on the ground, who is deformed, who has his hands arranged in the form of *anjali* (*i. e.* in the sign of humiliation), who is seated with hair dishevelled, and who says 'I am yours,' who is asleep, who is naked or unarmed, who is seeing others fight or is fighting with others, who is drinking water, taking food or busy with other matters, who is terrified, who retreats.

722. The old man, the infant, the woman, as well as the king, when alone, are not to be killed.

[1] Sukrâchâryya's Laws of Military Morality mention the persons who are not to be killed. The various signs of impotency or humiliation are described.

Dishevelled hair is a sign of defeat and failure. It appears here again that the hair was not lopped off in those days.

[1]723. But there is no deviation from the path of morality if one kills others by applying the prescribed methods.

724. These rules, however, apply only to warfares conducted according to the dictates of morality but not otherwise.

725. There is no warfare which extirpates the powerful enemy so much as the *kutayudha* or war conducted against the dictates of morality.

[2]726-27. In days of yore the *kuta* warfare was appreciated by Râma, Krishna, Indra and other gods. It was through *kuta* that Vâli, Yavana, and Namuchi were killed.

[3]728-30. One should inspire confidence in the enemy by sweet smiling face, soft words, confession of guilt, service, gifts, humiliation, praise, good offices as well as oaths.

731. One should study the enemy's defects with a mind sharp as the razor.

[4]732-33. The wise should place insult or humiliation in the front and honour or glory at the back in order to fulfil his desired object. It is folly to lose one's object.

734-36. The king seated on a platform, should study the activities of troops. Those who are friends of the king and the State, and who understand the bugle's sounds and signs of Battle-orders should always supervise the parades and exercises of troops.

737. Having noticed that disaffection has spread among the army through the enemy, the king should remove that.

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[1] The prescribed methods would be those rules about duels, &c., and about persons who are not to be killed, &c.

[2] Râma killed Vâli, Krishna Yavana, and Indra Namuchi. Who is this Yavana?

[3] These are some of the means by which *kuta* or deceit may be performed, and the enemy overpowered unawares. Sukrâchâryya does not recommend the ordinary rules of morality and religion to be followed in military affairs. He is an advocate of expediency and diplomacy, *i.e.*, of the theory of trying to do the best under the circumstances, and to always adapt oneself to the varying conditions of the world. So in extirpating the enemy none can trust to only one method of procedure, but has to adopt diverse methods according to the changes in the enemy's character or in the political situation generally. Nobody should have faith in treaties or promises of the foe but always be prepared for brow-beating him. This is to a ruler the sole religion, the sole truth, any other thing would be irreligion, untruth. Hence according to *Sukraniti* so-called irreligion, immorality, inconsistency, and untruth which are the characteristics of *kutayuddha* should not at all deter the king from a course of action that would lead to the desired object.

[4] The wise man should be indifferent to fame and name, and never think of glory and honour in achieving his ends. It should be his policy rather to suffer or welcome or invite insult and ignominy for sometime in order that he may triumph in the end.

[1]738-39. The king should grant rewards of wealth, property or privileges to those troops by whom new deeds are performed in the order of their deserts.

740-41. The powerful should carefully coerce the enemy by stopping the supplies of water, provisions, fooder, grass etc. in an unfavourable region and then extirpate it.

[2]742-45. One should sedulously destroy the enemy's troops by alienating them by gifts of counterfeit gold, and also by alluring them to sleep through acts of confidence after fatigue due to keeping up of nights, but not the army of their allies even though they are under the sway of vices.

746. One should never allow a territory very near one's own to be made over to another.

[3]747-88. One should commence military operations all on a sudden and withdraw also in an instant and fall upon the enemy like robbers from a distance.

[4]749-50. Silver, gold or other booty belong to him who wins it. The ruler should satisfy the troops by giving them those things with pleasure according to the labour undergone.

751-52. Having thus conquered the enemy, the king should realise revenue from a portion of the territory or from the whole, and then gratify the subjects.

753-54. The king should enter the conquered city with the auspicious sound of the *turyya* and protect like children the people thus won over and made one's own.

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[1] If the troops get alienated through enemy's sleights they have to be coerced, but if they perform unexpected feats from which advantagos accrue to tho master they should be duly rewarded.

[2] कूटस्वर्ण counterfeit gold *i.e.* coins. The rewards by which the enemy's troops are to be made favourable are however not genuine.

नित्यविश्रम्भसंसुप्त asleep through constant acts of faithfulness. The mutual relations are to be made so cordial and friendly that the enemy have perfect confidence in the good faith of the other.

The wisdom of not destroying the army of the enemy's allies is not self-evident.

[3] The time and character of the aggression are to be quite unexpected. The army must be adroitly manœuvred in such a way as to take efficient stand in any capacity. Agility, elasticity and flexibility are the qualities of generalship that would be required for these purposes of quick move and quick change of front.

[4] In ll. 728-50, Sukrâchâryya has described all the methods that may be adopted for extirpating the enemy.

[1]755-56. The king should appoint councillors to the study of statecraft according as it varies with time, place and circumstances and also as it is the beginning, middle or end, in order that they may find out the values of various policies and the methods of work.

[2]758-59. The officers of councillors are to explain the business to the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince is then to communicate the findings to the king in the presence of the councillors.

[3]760-61. The king is first to direct the Crown-Prince. Then he is to direct the ministers, they the officers.

762. The priest is to counsel the king about good and evil courses of action.

[4]763-64. The king should station the troops near the village but outside it. And there should be no relations of debtor and creditor between the village folk and the soldiery.

765. The goods that are meant for the army should be reserved for soldiers in their midst.

766. The troops must never be stationed at any one place for a year.

767. The king should manage the army in such a way that about a thousand can be ready for service in an instant.

768. The military regulations should be communicated to the soldiers every eighth day.

769-71. The troops should always forsake violence, rivalry, procrastination over State duties, indifference to injuries of the king, conversion, as well as friendship with the enemies.

772. They should never enter the village without a royal 'permit.'

773-74. They should never point to the defects of their commanders, but should always live on friendly terms with the whole staff.

[5]775. They should keep the arms, weapons and uniforms quite bright (and ready for use).

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[1] The policy must vary of course according as the measure is in the initial stages or in process of fulfilment or about to be completed.

[2] Thus in the first instance a problem is to be studied by ministers. The Crown Prince is next to know the results from them. The king is to be informed at last. This is the procedure of deliberation.

[3] The executive functions are discharged in the order described in these lines.

[4] The lay people and the military men must always be kept at a respectful distance from each other both physically and socially. There must also be no 'credit'-transactions between them.

[5] Rules about tidiness and careful handling of arms and uniforms are among the items of military discipline.

[1]776. Food, water, a vessel measuring one *prastha*, and vessel in which food for many might be cooked.

777-78. "I shall kill the troops who will act otherwise. You should all show me the booty that you receive from the enemy."

779-80. The king should always practise military parades with the troops, and strike the objective by means of missiles at the stated hours.

781-82. The king should count the troops both in the morning and evening and study their caste, stature, age, country, village and residence.

783-85. The king should have recorded the period served, rate of wages and the amount paid, how much has been paid to servants by way of wages and and how much by way of rewards. He should receive the acknowledgments of their receipts and give them the forms specifying wages etc.

786-87. Full pay is to be granted to those who are trained soldiers. Half pay is to be given to those who are under military training.

788. One should extirpate the troops that have illicit connexions with evil-doers and enemies.

789-90. The king should find out those soldiers who are addicted to the king's vices, enemies of virtues and are indifferent to the vices.

791. The king should always forsake the servants, who, though qualified, are pleasure-seekers.

[2]792-94. In the inner appartments such men are to be appointed as are

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[1] Perhaps the food stores are meant. The troops are to be responsible not only for their personal arms and uniforms but also for their own provisions.

[2] There are three terms used in these three lines indicating three grades of confidence. One is the recommendation for service in the Zenana, the second for service in the Accounts or Treasury Department and the third for appointment as an ordinary officer Trustworthiness is required everywhere but there are grades which make difference between trustworthy and trustworthy people.

The three terms are स्वान्त विश्वस्त, लोकविश्वस्त, and स्वान्त लोकविश्वस्त which is a compound of the two. This last is the qualification for service in the inner apartments.

But what does it mean? Perhaps, the man who is trusted by both लोक or people generally as well as because of his स्वान्त (or inward character ?) is fit to be employed in the Zenana,

The man of the next grade of confidence is he whose inward character स्वान्त is proof against cupidity and other vices. He would be the proper servant in the Treasury. As for ordinary functions of State officers people who are generally trusted by the public (लोक विश्वस्त) would make capital functionaries.

In the case of the Zenana officers both the qualifications are necessary because perhaps of the public reputation that is always the great asset of the Royal household. It would therefore not be enough to appoint men whose *character* is proof against the temptations. They must also be known to the *public* to be men of high stirling virtues. But in the case of the Treasury where the sole test of character is honesty and avoidance of embezzlement &c., Sukrâchâryya recommends men who have only one of these qualifications, *viz.*, the possession of a virtuous inner self.

very trustworty. They are also to be appointed in the Spending Department So also those who enjoy the confidence of the people are to be appointed for the external functions.

795. If appointed otherwise, they lead to compunction.

[1]796-98. Those alienated councillors of the enemies and such of their officers as are perpetually dishonoured through the master's vices, and are instrumental in serving one's purposes should be maintained by good remuneration.

199. Those who have been alienated through cupidity and inactivity should be maintained by half remuneration.

800. The king should maintain by good remuneration the well qualified men who have been deserted by the enemy.

801-802. When a territory has been acquired the king should grant maintenance beginning with the day of capture (to the conquered king) half of it to his son and a quarter to his wife.

[2]803-804. Or he should pay a quarter to the princes if well qualified, or a thirty-second part.

805. He should have the remaining portion of the income from the conquered territory for his own enjoyment.

806-807. He should invest that wealth or its half at interest until it is doubled, but not beyond that limit.

808-809. The king should maintain the dispossessed princes for the display of his own majesty by the bestowal of honours if well-behaved but punish them if wicked.

810-11. The king should divide the whole day (of twenty-four hours) into eight, ten or twelve periods of watch according to the number of the watchmen, not otherwise.

[3]812-813. At the beginning the watchmen are to serve during the several periods in a certain order. In the second round the first is to serve last, and the others to precede him.

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[1] Sukráchâryya is always advocating the policy of keeping the enemy's troops, ministers and officers in one's pay—and snbsidising them by secret-service-money.

[2] The construction here is a little intricate.

[3] It is difficult to make out the exact order in which the rounds of watchmen are to be governed. Suppose there are 4 watchmen A, B, C, D, and suppose the day is divided into eight periods 1, 2, 3, ...8. The order of rounds as suggested here would be :—

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7......
A, B, C, D, D, C, B, A B, C,

But in this case the last man D would have to serve during two consecutive periods. The arrangement does not seem to be perfect.

[1]814-15. Or again, in the same manner, the last may be asked to be on duty in place of the first (in the above case) and then at the last watch (of that day), and then on the next day one who comes in the order of the second etc., should finish his turn first and so on.

816. The king should always appoint more than four watchmen for the day.

817. He may also appoint many simultaneously according to the weight of business.

818. He should never appoint less than four watchmen.

819-22. Whatever have to be protected or instructed should be communicated to the watchman. Everything should remain before him, and he should keep the measured amount of gold and other valuables in the wooden apartment (or trunk) and at the expiry of his term should show that to his successor.

823. At intervals the watchmen have to be called aloud from a distance.

824-25. It is only when the king follows the rules laid down by the wise that he is respected by the people, not otherwise.

826-27. That man deserves sovereignty for life whose activities are regulated, who is good and restrained in his receipts and who gives up illicit incomes.

[2]828-29. The man who is unrestrained in his speech and deed, and who is always crooked to friends is forthwith dragged down from his position.

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[1] Suppose there are four watchmen A, B, C, D, and the day (of 24 hours) is divided into 8 watches ; then they should be on duty :—

on the first day as—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
D	C	B	A	A	B	C	D

on the second day as—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
C	B	A	D	D	A	B	C

on the third day as—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
B	A	D	C	C	D	A	B

and on the fourth day as.—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	D	C	B	B	C	D	A

and on the fifth day the order will be the same as on the first day, and thus the order repeats itself. Similarly should it be understood when the day (of 24 hours) is divided into ten or twelve watches instead of eight.

[2] In these lines Sukráchárya is expatiating on the efficacy of following the नियमाः of the *Niti Śástras*. Those who obey the rules are respected and those who do not follow them *i. e.*, are अनियमित in word, speech, realisation of revenues (ग्रहद्) etc are not at all respected but soon meet with evil fate.

[1]830-31. Just as even the tiger and the elephant cannot govern the lion, the king of beasts, so all the councillors combined are incompetent to control the king who acts at his own sweet will.

[2]832-33. Those councillors are his servants and hence quite insignificant (in the matter of governing him). The elephant cannot be bound by thousands of bales of cotton.

834-35. It is only the powerful elephant that can extricate an elephant from the mud. So also it is only a king who can deliver a king who has gone astray.

[3]836-37. The dignity and force that are possessed by even the lower servants of powerful princes cannot be attained by even the ministers of kings who are insignificant.

[4]838-39. The unity of opinion possessed by the Many is more powerful than the king. The rope that is made by a combination of many threads is strong enough to drag the lion.

840-41. One whose territory is small, who is the servant of the enemy, should never maintain a large army, but should always augment the treasury for the prosperity of his own children.

[5]842-43. He should take to food and bed in such a way as to allay hunger and promote sleep, otherwise he shall grow poor.

844. The king should always spend money according to the manner indicated above, not otherwise.

845-46. Those kings who are devoid of morality and power should be punished like thieves by the king who is powerful and virtuous.

847-48. Even the lesser rulers can attain excellence if they are protectors of all religions. And even the greater rulers get degraded if they destroy morality.

849-50. It is the king who is the cause of the origin of good and evil in this world. He is the best of all men who attains sovereignty.

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[1] These lines continue the idea contained in the above lines about the अनियमित &c. स्वच्छन्दगामिन् equivalent to अनियमितकर्म्म one who does not abide by any moral precepts but follows his own whims.

[2] Of course men who are only paid officers cannot prevail over their master when he goes astray.

[3] It is the dignity of the ruler that contributes to the dignity of the officer. If the king himself be powerless, even his chiefest officers are looked down upon as quite insignificant.

[4] Unity is strength ; and the *many* is always more powerful than the *one*.

[5] One should eat and sleep only when there is real need for these. Undue eating and sleeping mean gluttony or luxury and idleness. Intemperance of any sort is ruinous.

[1]851-52. The science that was appreciated by the sages like *Manu* and others, had been incorporated by Bhârgava or Sukra in the form of twenty-two thousand Ślokas of *Nîtisâra.*

853-54. The king who always studies the abridged text of Sukra becomes competent to bear the burden of State affairs.

[2]855-56. In the three worlds there is no other *Nîti* like that one of the poet (Sukra). The poetical work (of Sukra) is the sole *Nîti* for politicians, others are worthless (as political codes).

857-58. Those rulers who do not follow Nîti are unfortunate and go to hell either through misery or through cupidity.

Here end the Seventh Section that on the Army in the Fourth Chapter of *Sûkranîti* as well as the Fourth Chapter.

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[1] Sukra follows up the traditions of Manu. There is no mention of Kautilya or Châṇakya. It is a remarkable fact that *Sukraniti* closely resembles *Manusamhitâ* in sentiment as well as language, whereas the *Arthaśâstra* or the celebrated socio-political and socio-economic treatise of the Hindus does not seem to have left any significant trace on the work. This fact ought to be carefully borne in mind in fixing the date of *Sukraniti* in particular and the chronology of the *Nitisûtras* in general.

[2] *Sûkraṇiti* is the genuine Nitiśastra or real science of morals, others are pseudo-sciences.

CHAPTER V.

SUPPLEMENTARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

1-2. I shall now speak, in the Supplementary Chapter, of the remaining rules of morality laid down in the Śâstras that promote the welfare of the seven organs of the State as well as the people.

[1]3-4. One should study the defects and weaknesses of the enemy in the hope that 'I will overpower the enemy even at the expiry of a century.'

5-6. The enemy who is weak in councillors and army should fear the servants of the State. But one who is strong in ministers and troops should study the enemy's state by accepting service therein or by adopting the role of the trader.

[2]8-9. One should wait guardedly like the cat and the fowler and by creating confidence extirpate the enemy whose soul has been ruined by vices.

[3]10-11. The king should engage troops that can destroy the army of the opponents—not those who live in the enemy's territory, nor those who are secretly opposed to himself.

12. The king should never destroy one's own army by recklessly undertaking wars.

13. The officers should never desert the king even though deprived of gifts and honours.

14-15. One should never go over to the enemy's camp in order to protect one's person and property. Can the nourishment that is due to the rain-water from clouds be derived from the water of rivers &c. ?

[4]16. So also the promotion of the people's weal depends on the property of the king. Can this accrue from the wealth of the rich folk ?

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[1] Once an enemy, always an enemy. The inimical relations must never be stopped. There may only be temporary cessation of hostilitos which, however, is to be respected so long as favourable opportunities do not arise.

[2] No tricks are considered too mean if the object be to destroy the foes. The End justifies the means.

[3] प्रत्यर्थिन—opponent.

[4] Ordinary wealthy people are nothing compared with kings in the matter of promoting people's happiness,

[1]17-8. Even the most powerful should always display weakness, and having entered the enemy's state should be instrumental in serving his interests, and when his roots have been well grounded, should win over the whole territory.

20-1. He should uproot all the fundamental sources (of that State's strength) and convert to his side its enemies, co-sharers and generals by gifts of revenues.

22-3 Just as the branches &c., of a tree wither up when its roots decay, so also without the king, the commanders, &c., (grow powerless) immediately or in the course of some time.

[2]24-6. The king is the root of the State, the councillors are the trunks, the commanders are the branches. The troops are the leaves and flowers, the subjects are the fruits, and the lands are the seeds.

[3]27-8. The king should never trust the king whose confidence has been created, and should never meet him in his house or some lonely place accompanied by a few troops.

[4]29-30. The king should always keep beside him men who are very much like himself in dress, physique, form, &c., should at times be protected by special signs, and at times look like others.

[5]31-3. He should overpower the enemy by the aid of prostitutes, dancers, cf. Lovis XIV's policy towards stuart kings, wines, and songsters.

32-3. One should never go out for war with good clothes and ornaments, and kith and kin, or well-marked by special insignia.

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[1] Just as it is the height of art to conceal art, so it is the height of strength to conceal strength. True statesmen never display their powers but always hide their influence and exercise it only when they are sure of their position. This is also the theory of diplomats whose policy is to be 'uncrowned' kings of peoples without formally declaring their position.

सञ्जातबद्धमूल Whoso roots have grown inveterate, *i. e.*, who has been well placed in the affections of the people ; who enjoys unbounded confidence.

साधक instrumental (in carrying out the designs of the enemy).

[2] This fanciful analogy between a tree and the State is quite worthless.

[3] Trust and confidence are words that should not be found in the dictionary of diplomats, statesmen and kings.

[4] The king should be adept in the use of diverse uniforms and marks. The personality of the king requires to be carefully guarded, for this he is not to depend on the sentinels and troops only. But he must be resourceful enough to hide himself by various sleights of dress and appearance. Thus people should be about the king wearing dress almost like his own so that outsiders may not easily distinguish or single him out from the rest of the company. Again he should at times put on disguises to look like some other man (अन्यादृश). The art of dissimulation is an important branch of the king's education.

[5] Cf. Lovis XIV'S policy towards Stuart kings.

34. One should never for a moment be careless as regards servants, wife, children and enemies.

35-6. While one is living, full sovereignty should never be conferred upon the son, though he is naturally of a good character, for that is the source of great mischief.

36. Even Vishnu did not confer sovereignty upon his own son.

38. One should grant sovereignty to the son towards the close of one's life.

39-40. Princes are quite incompetent to maintain even for a moment the kingdom that has no king because of their vanity, fickleness and love of power.

41-42. The son after attaining the highest position should protect the subjects according to *Niti* and look upon the old councillors with respect like father.

43-44. They also are to adopt his courses of action when they are reasonable, but should prevent them by putting off, if otherwise.

45-46. They should never live with him against the dictates of *Niti* in the hope of amassing wealth. Those who thus live soon go to the dogs together with him.

47-48. The king who opposes the persons devoted to the interests of the dynasty and accepts new councillors is overpowered by the enemy and deprived of person and property.

49-50. But the new people are also to be maintained if they are qualified and virtuous, and should be placed in charge of duties together with the old ones.

[1]51-53. The king is served according to their interests by *Sadhus* who know how to delude my people or create tricks by means of humility, adoration, service, sweet and truthful speech, both direct as well as indirect.

[2]54. But the difference between them is in reality that between the sky and the earth.

55-56. The *dhurta* (cunning or crafty), the *jâra* (cheat) the thief and the learned men are all producers of artifices and tricks. But the learned man is not so expert as the cunning in this respect.

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[1] Sukrâchâryya is advising the king to be careful in dealing with men. For it is difficult to distinguish men who are really well-intentioned from men who are unfriendly. There are people who know how to look like ascetics and seem to be friends by their manner, speech and tactics. But they would serve you only so long as their purposes are to be fulfilled (यावत् कार्य).

[2] The *Sadhu* adopts those winning arts only to seduce the king. They are not at all genuine.

[1]57-58. The cheat and the thief are notorious for stealing people's property. These take secretly, but the cunning steals in one's presence.

59-60. The *dhurtas* or cunning people prove to the foolish people a good action to be bad, and a bad to be good, and thus serve their own purposes. They finally ruin people by creating their confidence through tricks and artifices.

62-63. One should always do good of those whom one intends to ruin. The fowler sings sweet in order to entice and kill the deer.

64 Without crafts and sleights no great work can be soon done by people.

65-66. No one can be wealthy without stealing others' wealth. That again according to one's desire is impossible without tricks.

67-68. Kings consider the robbing of others' wealth the greatest virtue and sacrifice their lives in great conflicts.

[2]69. If there accrue no sin to a king, robbers also should be absolved (from sin).

[3]70-72. Sins become virtues by a change of circumstances. That is virtue which is applauded by the many; that is vice which is cried down by all. The Theory of Morals is very intricate and cannot be understood by any body.

73. Excessive charity, penance and truthfulness lead to adversity in this world.

74. Words are valueless which do not lead either to virtue or to wealth (secular interests).

75-76. Whoever is able in matters either of wealth or of virtue, whoever knows the (nature of) time and place, whoever is free from doubts, such a man is to be respected, but he who always feels suspicious is not liked.

77-79. Man is the slave of wealth, not wealth of any body. So one should always carefully labour for wealth. Through wealth men get virtue, satisfaction and salvation.

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[1] Thus the *dhurta* is cleverer than the cheat and the thief also.

[2] If killing, plundering, ravaging, &c., be allowed to kings why should not robbers be immune from sin due to the perpetration of the same offences? Cf. 'Alexander, too, a robber!'

[3] Sukrâchâryya is unable to explain why murder, bloodshed etc should be considered a virtue in kings and a vice in robbers by referring to the preconceived notions of morality and standards of right and wrong followed by ordinary people. He has to take recourse to the doctrine of the Relativity of Virtues and Vices to the circumstances of life or the conditions of time and place. Hence he is no advocate of absolute morality and warns people against trying to understand the theory of Right and Wrong, Good and Bad.

80-82. Valour without arms and weapons, householdership without wife, war without unity of purpose, skill without one to appreciate, and danger without friend, do always lead to misery.

83. In danger there is no support besides friends.

[1]84-85. One should satisfy by friendship the person with whom property is undivided, by remuneration the people whose property has been partitioned, and the friend by enjoyments similar to oneself.

86-87. One should enjoy one's own wealth after giving away portions to the king, relatives, wife, sons, friends, servants and thieves.

88-90. The king should give up pride, vanity, miserliness, anxiety, and fear and perform his work in order to promote his own interest ; and should maintain the servants by special gifts, *e.g.*, of love, honour and privilege.

91-92. The wealthy man is always being eaten up by Brahmana, fire, and water. He always enjoys happiness, others suffer misery.

93-95. *Darpa* (pride) is the desire for the diminution of others, *Mâna* (vanity) is the idea of superiority to all, *Kârpanya* (miserliness) is stinginess in expenditure, *Bhaya* (fear) is the suspicion about one's own ruin, and *Udvega* (anxiety) is known to be the fickleness of mind.

96-97. Insult from even the insignificant leads to great enmity. Gifts, honours, truthfulness, valour and humility lead to good friendship.

98-100. In times of danger the king should call on the wise men, preceptors, brothers, friends, servants, relatives, and councillors and humbly consult their wishes in the proper manner.

101-2. "I shall do away with the danger, if you give me your counsels. You are my friends and not servants. I have no other sources of help besides you all."

103-4. Half or one-third of salaries should be received by the king for maintenance.

[2]104-5. 'I shall remember the benefit rendered by you and pay back the remainder after getting rid of the trouble.'

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[1] The different modes of dealing with men according to the nature of the relations. If there has been a partition of property among several members, they should try to gratify one another by means of salaries and rewards, for otherwise there cannot be any friendship among them. But if several people are owners of a joint property the relation should not be that of payment by a master to an officer or servant but that between cordial friends, for in this case no body could care to accept service of somebody, and it would be most undiplomatic of any member to offer salary to others.

[2] In times of emergency the king should pay only half or two-thirds of the fixed salaries to the officers.

[1] 106. Without remuneration those officers should serve the master for eight years, who have the wealth of sixteen years, others according to their wealth. Only the penniless should receive food and raiment from the king, not others.

109-110. If one should not grieve with those by whom one has been well maintained, one is deprecated as ungrateful by both the master as well as other servants.

111. One should sacrifice life for the man by whom one has been maintained even once.

112-13. He is the excellent servant who does not desert his master in difficulty. He is known to be the master who sacrifices his life for the servants.

114-15. There has never been a vituous king like Rama in this world, of whom even the monkeys accepted service.

116-17. The unity of even thieves can lead to the destruction of the State. Cannot the unity of the king and the officers lead to the extinction of the enemy?

118-19. There was no king like Sri Krishna so well up in falsehoods. He made Arjuna accept his sister Subhadrâ by an artifice.

120. That is said to be Reason (Yukti) according to men well up in Nīti which lead to one's welfare.

121-22. One should first form friendship with him who would do one good, and then by professions of virtue &c. should secure what is beneficial (to oneself).

123-24 The recital of others' praises so as to lead to mutual friendship as well as seduction by gifts of desirable commodities, like food, clothing, &c., do always bear fruit.

125-26. Those who pose themselves as mediators generally adopt the methods of swearing, false talk and procrastination.

127-28. The man who does not adopt the means for hiding himself is more senseless than the beast. Even women employ guises to hide their paramours.

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[1] Here are various grades of officers, some have staying power, others have not. Those that have staying power, are, again, of various grades. Hence in times of danger the portions of salary that are to be deposited with the State for military or emergency purposes would vary. Some would be able to do without half the salary, some without two-thirds for about 8 years, others for other periods, and so on.

129. *Yukti* or "stratagem" is in most cases of the nature of crafts or artifices and similarly (there is) another (form of it which) achieves practical results.(?)

[1]130-31 One should use guile with those who generally employ artifices. Otherwise even the great lose their character.

132. There are groups of intelligent people, not single intelligent individuals.

[2]133-34 Those who are well-up in *Niti* employ various kinds of *Niti* and *Yukti* according to time, place and circumstances when they see that the old ones fail.

[3]135-36. Men who are proficient in the science of crafts and artifices can produce guiles by charms, medicines, dress, time and speech, &c.

137-38. One should mark by one's signs, vessels or clothes purchased, sold or made over in the presence of the State officers, and should communicate to the king in order to prevent deceit and thieving.

140. The king should always pay interest for the property belonging to the senseless, the blind and the infants.

141-42. Just as women are of three kinds—one's own, common, and belonging to others, so servants are of three kinds, excellent, mediocre and inferior.

143-45. The excellent servant is he who is devoted to the master. The mediocre is he who serves the giver of remuneration. The worst servant is he who serves another master, even though maintained by one.

[4]146-47. The man who renders beneficial services though injured is excellent but is otherwise bad. The mediocre or second class servant desires equality (or mutuality) of interests. Others are selfish.

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[1] Falsehoods can be met only by falsehoods but not otherwise. If guiles and artifices are unnecessarily adopted there is the danger of loss of character.

[2] दृष्ट्वा व्यर्थान् प्राक्तनान् Noticing that the old mothods are futile.

[3] काल *e. g.*, magicians' sleights can make people believe that the day is night, the noon is morning and so on.

वाग्वै &c. meaning of words. By Play or Pun on words, double interpretations, ambiguous use of language, &c., clever people can ruin the ignorant folk.

[4] The three classes of servants have been previously distinguished according to their attitude towards the remuneration. In ll. 146-147 the same distinction is brought out from another standpoint *viz*, the study of self-interest. Thus the first class man never cares for self interest but would serve the master even at a sacrifice. The second class man follows the give-and-take morality, serves the master only so long as his own interests are fulfilled साम्यमन्विषेत् *i. e.* desires (equality). The third class of man cannot serve at sacrifice. Others care only for self.

148. Nothing can be understood fully by means of *pramânas* (evidences) alone unless there be some (extra) advice regarding it.

149. Whether boyhood or youth, it may lead to the completion of the work begun.

[1]150. In the case of the intelligent man, old age is never to be considered.

151-54. One should begin that work which can easily come to end. The commencement of many things at a time is not satisfactory. One should not commence another work before completing the one begun, for in that ease neither the one is finished, nor the other is gained.

155. The successful man always does that which easily comes to completion.

[2]156-57. If one's interests can be furthered by a quarrel that is also desirable, otherwise that leads to loss of life, wealth, friends, fame, and virtue.

158-59. Zealousy, cupidity, passion, love, anger, fear and recklessness—these seven are known to be the causes of weakness in an enterprise.

160-61. One should indeed set himself to do a work in exactly that way in which it can be done without any imperfections or without meeting with the disapproval of the wise, whether it is late or at the time of distress.

162-63. The master of ten villages, and the commander of one hundred troops should travel on horseback with attendants, the master of one village also should be a horseman.

164. The commander of one thousand troops and the ruler of one hundred villages should each have the vehicle of a chariot and a horse, and ten armed attendants or should travel on horseback

166-167. The ruler of one thousand villages should always travel in vehicles carried by men or two horses. The commander of ten thousand troops should travel with twenty attendants on an elephant.

168-169. The ruler of ten thousand villages can use all vehicles and four horses. The commander of fifty thousand should travel with many attendants.

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[1] Perhaps in ll. 149-50 the idea is that age is no consideration in the case of workers. A work can be done by people of any age. Hence credit should be given to any body who can successfully complete a work whether a mere child, a youngman or one sufficiently old.

[2] Even a quarrel is to be desired if it leads to success.

[1]170-171. This should be regulated according to the magnitude of the jurisdiction, also in the case of wealthy and qualified people.

172-173. A king who desires good (for himself) should always manage things in his kingdom in such a way that the best should not sink in the scale of honour nor even the low should rise (unduly) high in the scale.

174-175. The king should grant lands in the villages to all classes of men, high, middle and low and in the towns for the houses of men with families.

176-177. To the lowest class the land given should be thirty-two cubits in length and half of that in extent; to the highest class the land should be double this in measure; and to the middle class it should be one and a half that of the lowest class.

178. The land in each case should be just adequate for the members of the family, neither more nor less.

179. The officers and servants of the king are to live outside the village.

180-181. No soldier is to enter the village without royal business, and oppress the villagers any where.

182. Nor should villagers come into daily dealings with the soldiers.

183-184. The king should daily make the soldiers hear of the virtues that promote valour and witness the musical and dancing performances that also tend to augment prowess.

185. The soldiers should not be appointed to any other work besides warfare.

[2]186-187. If wealthy men of good manners are ruined in a business, the king should protect them and such like men.

[3]188. Those who are rich among troops (?) should be granted proper remuneration, *e. g.*, one-thirtieth in addition to the actual expenditure in the matter of travelling expenses.

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[1] These lines describe the paraphernalia that should grace the men of high position, the aristocracy or the upper ten thousand, whether of office, wealth, or character. There must be marks by which the "dignified parts" of a State should be distinguished.

[2] Here is an instance of State Intervention in Industry and Agriculture. Losses of honest agriculturists or farmers are to be partically made up by State grants.

[3] पारदेश्य travelling allowance; when such people go abroad on State affairs they are to receive trav elling allowance and this at the rate of $\frac{1}{30}$th more than actual expenditure

190. The king should protect their wealth as his own treasure.

191. He should deprive of wealth the rich persons who are dishonest in their dealings.

[1]192-193. If four times the value has been received by the creditor from the debtor, the former is to receive no more.

Here ends the Fifth Chapter named Supplementary Nîti.

[1] चतुर्गुणवृद्धि Interest to the extent of four times the capital. This seems to be the maximum beyond which equity recommends remission of interests (?)

THE END.

Index to Important words in Sukraniti.

(The references are to slokas in Gustave Oppert's Edition.)

प्रथमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ।

द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

द्वितीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः।

तृतीयोऽध्यायः।

२१४ पापदत्त,
२२३ तिमिङ्गिल,
२२८ भठ ,
२३७ धैार्य,
२३८ वावदूक,
२५० ब्रह्मकोश,
२७८ आध्वर्यव,

तृतीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ।

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।

प्रथमं प्रकरणम् ।

१६ स्नुषा, श्वश्रू, ननान्दृ, यातृ,
२९ उदासीन,
३७ सामन्, दान, भेदन, दण्ड,
४४ अङ्कुन,
४५ व्यस्तक्षौर, असद्‌यान,
४९ आततायी,
५० अवलिप्त,
६२ स्त्रैण,
६६ कर्णेजप,
६९ अभ्यस्त,
९७ कितव, जार,
९८ न्यास,
१०० नक्षत्र-सूची,
१०४ वृषल,
११७ पण, कार्षापण,

(द्वितीयं प्रकरणम्)

१ कोश,
३० अग्निचूर्ण,
४१ वज्र, वैदूर्य्य, गोमेद, विद्रुम, इन्द्र-नील, पुष्पराग, पात्ति, माणिक्य,
४३ भैाम, चाष,
४६ ओतु,
४७ गारुत्मत,
५० चिपिट, सित,
५२ कोकनदच्छवि,
६० कञ्चुक, अरठ,
६५ क्षमा, रक्त, कृष्णालक,
६६ ठङ्क,
८७ वङ्क,
९४ प्रस्थ,
९७ ताल,
९८ पल,
१०३ निष्क,
१२० अवि,
१२८ वादर्द्धुषिक,
१२९ आपणिक,

(तृतीयं प्रकरणम्)

१ राष्ट्र,
४ अघ,
७ आधि,
११ साङ्कय, प्रतिलोम, अनुलोम,
१५ कला,
१६ इज्या,
१९ सीर,
२२ रहस्य,
३० मन्त्र, ब्राह्मण,
३३ वृत्त, अध्वर्यव,
३४ उद्‌गीथ,
३७ व्यूह,
३८ उदात्त,
३९ उपसंहार,
४० सवन,
४२ श्रौतकल्य, स्मार्त्तकल्य,
४३ निरुक्त,
४४ होरा,
४८ प्रकृति, विकार,
५१ पुरावृत्त,
५२ सर्ग, प्रतिसर्ग,
५३ स्मृति,
५४ नास्तिक,
५५ अर्थशास्त्र,
५८ शिल्पशास्त्र,
५९ अलङ्कृति,

२८८ सन्धायासन
२९९ उपाय
३०६ शौण्डीर,
३०७ कदन,
३१९ गोष्ठी,
३२० इज्या,
३२२ प्रतोली,
३२६ भ्रूण,
३३८ प्रतिलोम, अनुलोम,
३४१ मल्लूर, कफीनि,
४५९ विसन्नाह
३६९ प्रत्यग्र,
३७२ कूटस्वर्ण,
३७५ कूप्य,
३७७ तूर्य,
४११ कीलकोष्ठ,

चतुर्थोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ।

पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

१ खिल,
११ तरक्षु,
४३ दर्प, मान, कार्पण्य, भय, उद्वेग,
६७ प्राक्तन,

पंचमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ।

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